A perceptual study of Scottish dialects

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1. Introduction

Perceptual dialectology is dedicated to the formal study of folk linguistic perceptions. Through an amalgamation of social psychology, ethnography, dialectology, sociolinguistics, cultural geography and myriad other fields, perceptual dialectology provides a methodology to gain insight to overt folk language attitudes, knowledge of regional distribution, and the importance of language variation and change (Preston 1989, 1999a). This study conducts the first investigation of folk perceptions in Scotland through a perceptual dialectological approach.

The research was carried out in Buckie, a rural fishing town and homogeneous community located on the northeast coast of Scotland. The Northeast has a unique history in Scotland, serving as a relic speech area. Due to its social and geographical isolation, the Northeast has retained a salient Scots identity and earlier qualities of dialect that have been lost in urban and mobile Scottish communities (Smith 2001:110).[1] Buckie, as with much of the Northeast, is beginning to see a transition of community structure. Increasing geographic and social mobility due in part to the North Sea oil industry boom is opening the community to incomers and increasing exposure to the outside world (L. Milroy 1980, 2002; J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1985; Millar 2007).

Through an examination of perceptions toward Scottish dialects, this research addresses both overt and covert attitudes toward Scottish language varieties by investigating three key research questions:

1) How is Scots language perceived? Do respondents identify it as part of a continuum? As a distinct language? As a dialect of English? As irrelevant or dead?
2) How do twelve Scottish government regions rated for degree-of-difference, correctness, pleasantness, broadness and Scottishness compare? What does this imply about the Scottish identity? How do these regions help define salient dialect areas?
3) What are the salient dialect areas in Scotland? Where are they perceived to exist? How are they described?

These questions are addressed with reference and consideration to the social and cultural development of Scottish varieties (Aitken 1984b), previously conducted perceptual dialectology

[1] Scottish identity is once again coming to the forefront of the political sphere, as a push toward devolution is currently underway, and the recent inclusion of Scots on the 2011 Scottish Census.

studies (Preston 1989, 1999a), language attitudes research (Ryan *et al.* 1982) and relevant sociolinguistic data (Stuart-Smith et al 2007; Macafee 1997).

Chapter 2 presents a brief literature review, which is followed by a summary of the methods employed in the study in Chapter 3. The results are presented in three chapters describing the three questions above. Chapter 4 seeks to gain an understanding of Scots' perception of the term Scots and its reference to Scots language through qualitative data analysis. By analysing the results of the scales-rating activity, Chapter 5 compares perceptions of twelve distinct Scottish regions on the following factors: degree-of-difference, correctness, pleasantness, broadness and Scottishness. Chapter 6 identifies how respondents conceptualise salient dialect regions in Scotland by examining the results of the map-drawing task.

The dissertation concludes by addressing key themes found in the data, followed by an evaluation of the study, and recommendations for future research. Key factors impacting perceptions include geographical proximity, Scottish cultural salience and attitudes toward Scots identity. This dissertation examines the perceptions of dialects across Scotland and identity toward Scots and Scottish varieties in order to better understand ongoing change in Scottish languages from a folk perspective as well as to identify perceived dialect regions across Scotland.

2. Literature review

2.1 Language in Scotland

Language varieties in Scotland have been shaped by prolonged contact with myriad languages and cultures, the three most influential being Gaelic, Norse and Standard English (Corbett *et al.* 2003:7; Maguire 2012:20). Scots has replaced Gaelic in the Lowlands and Norn in the Northern Isles, while English continues to replace Gaelic in the Highlands.

Above the Highland Line, Scots has never been spoken natively. Gaelic, once the most widespread and widely spoken Scottish language, has slowly been replaced with Scottish Standard English (SSE).[2] Gaelic now exists almost exclusively in the Hebrides and northwest Highlands. In many Highland communities, Highland and Hebridean English (HHE) has been the first language for some time, though there are still some regions where native speakers adopt it as the L2 variety (Shuken 1984:154; Clement 1984:318-41). The occupation of the Highlands by an English-speaking elite led to the development of SSE consisting of "few syntactic structures and lexical items, which would be considered non-standard" (Shuken 1984:155; see Johnston 2007:109 and Ó Baoill 1997:565). The linguistic structure is Scottish English rather than English English, simply devoid of vernacular features and Scotticisms (Shuken 1984:155; Millar 2007:1; Ó Baoill 1997:566).

Scotland's Northern Isles, Orkney and Shetland, adopted Scots rather than English as the L2 variety. Beginning in the fifteenth century in Orkney, and in the sixteenth century in Shetland, Scots began to compete with Norn, the locally spoken language descended from Scandinavian dialects, which continued to be spoken until the eighteenth century (Millar 2007:1-15). Traces of Norn still appear in the modern dialects of Orkney and Shetland Scots, though the impact of its linguistic influence is debated (Barnes 1991, 1984).

Below the Highland Line, the Scots nation peaked between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Scots serving as the official and statusful language of the Kingdom of Scotland (Murison 1977, 1979; Aitken 1984b; McClure 1988). The language was born from the Northumbrian dialects of Old English and developed independently of English, securing separate loanwords and influences from Dutch, Latin, Low German, Norse and French through trade,

[2] Beginning in the seventeenth century, political occupation and state, religious, and educational policies aimed to replace Gaelic with English (MacKinnon 2007; Shuken 1984). By this time, Scots was "déclassé and statusless", and Highlanders learned English as a second language with limited to no Scots interference (Murison 1979:11; see Görlach 2002). "Hence, the Highlander has never spoken Scots and hardly recognizes any distinction between it and English" (Murison 1979:11).

political alliances and cultural contact (Macafee 1997; Murison 1979; Corbett *et al.* 2003b). This linguistic autonomy was short-lived, as the plethora of political, social and cultural convergences with England beginning in the sixteenth century saw Scots transition from an autonomous language to a heteronomous dialect of English (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:9; J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1991; McArthur 1979; Corbett *et al.* 2003).[3]

Without an explicitly codified standard, Scots survives as a series of regional and local spoken varieties. Nearly every Scot now has a command of English and most speak English natively (Murison 1979; McClure 1979; Aitken 1984a). Figure 2.1 provides an account of Scottish dialects. Note the most salient geographical dialect boundaries have not changed over the past three centuries at the Highland Line, the Mid/North Line and the Scottish/English Border, demonstrating the conservativeness of Scots (Johnston 1997; Macaulay 2004).

SSE originated in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century through prolonged contact and the dedicated efforts of socially mobile Scots looking to anglicise their speech (Aitken 1979, 1984a; Corbett *et al.* 2003; Murison 1979; Jones 1997). Through this anglicisation process, speakers learned to replace Scots word-forms, vocabulary, idioms and obtrusive grammar at the dialect level with southern English equivalents, but failed to reform traditionally Scottish pronunciation habits at the accent level. Therefore, even the most conservative SSE speakers retain distinctive Scots features of rhythm and intonation, include a number of covert Scotticisms in their speech and share features with the local vernacular (Aitken 1979:99-100; 1984b).[4] It is the stylistic editing out of these overt Scotticisms that defines social stratification for most Scottish speakers (Johnston 1983; Romaine 1980).

[3] In addition to the inherent similarity between Scots and English, the lack of status and weak solidarity toward Scots language may have led to the transition into linguistic diglossia between Scots varieties and Scottish English varieties (Aitken 1979:89; McClure 1979; Aitken 1984b). Had the two Kingdoms maintained political autonomy, the linguistic situation of Scotland and England could have reflected the modern day linguistic situation of Scandinavia, in which mutually intelligible dialects serve as national languages (Aitken 1979, 1984b; McArthur 1979; Chambers and Trudgill 1998).

[4] There are no regionless dialects in Scotland, regardless of class, age, and gender. With the exception of the Scottish upper classes educated in RP-speaking English "public schools", the refined Scottish middle-class dialect that developed out of the elocution lessons and Scotticism-reduction pamphlets, is similar but not identical to southern English. SSE retains a number of Scots grammatical and phonological qualities including SVLR and Scotticisms. For a more in depth discussion of SSE, see Aitken 1984a and 1984b; Johnston 1997; Macafee 1997.

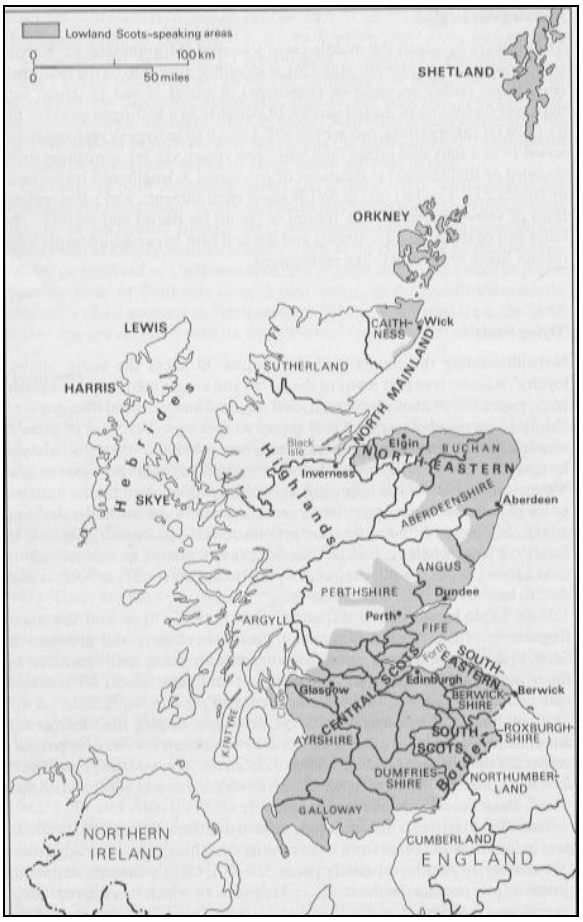

Figure 2.1 Dialect map of Scotland (Aitken 1984a:110)

The diglossia between Scots and SSE was first identified and described within the Scots-English dialect continuum model by Aitken (1984b).[5] In Figure 2.2, Columns 1 and 2 represent Scots speech, and Columns 4 and 5 represent SSE speech. Shared speech forms appear in Column 3. For many Scots, an individual's language functions on a more-less basis, where speakers either cannot or choose to not control clean switching between local Scots and more standard English and instead style-drift by mixing the two systems or fluctuating between the continuum poles (Aitken 1979, 1984b). In urban working-class and rural communities, where the local Scots form is "well-preserved and highly differentiated", dialect-switching or code-switching has been documented to occur (McClure 1979:27; Macafee 1997; Melchers 1985).[6]

[5] The model describes Scots speech as a continuum between traditional Scots language and standardised SSE and "offers a macrocosmic sample of the total body of vocabulary and morphology in principle available to all native Scottish speakers and a microcosmic view of the options accessible to each individual speaker" (Aitken 1984b:519).

[6] Johnston (1997) expanded this to include the influence of community structure on style-drifting and code-switching. In this four-pattern model, urban speakers operate on a socially-stratified network, with working-class

	SCOTS		ENGLISH	
1	2	3	4	5
bairn	hame	name	home	child
brae	hale	hole	whole	slope
kirk	mare	before	more	church
ken	puir	soup	poor	know
darg	muin	room	moon	job of work
cuit	yuis n.	miss	use n.	ankle
kenspeckle	yaize v.	raise	use v.	conspicuous
birl	cauld	tie	cold	spin
girn	auld	young	old	whine
mind	coo	row (= fight)	cow	remember
sort	hoose	winter	house	mend
ay	pey	bite	pay	always
gey	wey	tide	way	very
ein	deid	feed	dead	eyes
shuin	dee	see	die	shoes
deave	scart	leave	scratch	deafen, vex
gaed	twa(w)/twae	agree	two	went
ben the hoose	no (= not)	he	not	inside the house
	-na(e)	his	-n't	

Figure 2.2 The bipolar model (Aitken 1984b:520; Macafee 1997:519; Johnston 2007:111)

Whilst highly informative, the continuum fails to incorporate regional dialect distinctions and stylistic choice. Current research indicates that in the urban Central Belt, the concept of a continuum is becoming less and less applicable. The linguistic situation has transitioned from one of diglossia to diaglossia, with some speakers no longer able to distinguish between Scots and SSE (Wells 1982:395; Stuart-Smith 2004). Instead of viewing Scottish speakers as transitioning up and down a single bipolar scale, "[i]t is more enlightening to think of Scottish speakers, like speakers of everywhere else, as operating on a multi-dimensional sociolinguistic variation space" (Maguire 2012:3).

Reflecting poverty, brutality and crime of the post-industrial revolution, urban working-class broad Scots within Glasgow and other cities has long been referred to as Bad Scots strewn with vulgarisms and slang (Menzies 1991; Macafee 1994, 1997; Aitken 1984b; Murdoch 1995; Macaulay and Trevelyan 1977; Romaine 1978; Hardie 1995-6; Sandred 1985).[7] Recent urban

speakers code-switching and middle-class speakers style-drifting. For more isolated communities, stylistic variation is replaced with code-switching to outgroup speakers.

[7] Vulgarisms are disapproved forms of Scots innovations commonly found in urban centres, and are often seen as slang or corruptions of the Scots language (Aitken 1984b, 1979).

innovations have spread, in what can best be described with the gravity model of language change (Chambers and Trudgill 1998), and within Scotland by the spheres of influence theory (Johnston 1997). Urban dialect features are spreading from London and other English cities, demonstrating cultural youth solidarity and counter-culture identity from traditional middle-class values (Kerswill and Williams 2000; Pollner 1985; Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2006, 2007). Younger generations are not reverting back to traditional Scots dialect forms to establish solidarity (Macafee 1994; Menzies 1991), but instead are adopting supra-local non-native urban speech markers, such as l-vocalisation, loss of rhoticity and glottal stops, which have recently been documented in the speech of working-class Glaswegian youth (Stuart-Smith 2003, 2004; Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2006, 2007).

Outside the Central Belt, many speakers still maintain a strong identity to the Scots language (Murdoch 1995). Broad Scots spoken in these regions has been labelled Good Scots, reflecting a pre-industrial golden age, and maintains relic forms and 'approved' stylistic overt Scotticisms (Macafee 1997; Aitken 1984b, 1979).[8]

Studies are indicating urban speech innovations are entering more isolated and rural communities. Community patterns appear to be shifting as even the traditional dialect areas are beginning to adopt the same non-native speech markers as urban Glaswegian youth (Marshall 2003; Brato 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). Features such as t-glottalisation exemplify covert prestige and increasingly overt prestige in even small, rural Scottish communities such as Huntly (Marshall 2003:105-6). Studies in Aberdeen show increasing tension between traditional dialect loyalty and the belief of its handicap outwith the community (McGarrity 1998; Macafee 2003; Löw-Wiebach 2005). The arrival of mainstream urban Scottish English features in rural Scottish towns demonstrates a recent and ongoing shift in identity within Scotland.

2.2 Language attitudes in Scotland

While not descriptive of all Scottish dialects, the language attitude dimensions of status and solidarity are particularly salient for Scottish English code-speakers and overt style-drifters. The

[8] Regional dialects such as Doric, Buchan, Borders, are seen as genuine dialects and appear to be the closest to the nostalgic concept of Ideal Scots. While Scots speakers are traditionally categorised as older respondents from rural communities and the urban working class (Macaulay and Trevelyan 1977; Macafee 1994; Hardie 1995-6; Sandred 1985; McGarrity 1998), nostalgia toward traditional and local Scotticisms has not been limited to that profile, as Scots of all classes and regions have claimed solidarity toward broad Scots speech (Macaulay 1991; Romaine 1980; Macafee 1994; McGarrity 1998).

field of social psychology of language has taken to identifying the key underpinnings of language attitudes, identifying the sociostructural determinants of language attitudes as standardization and vitality (Ryan *et al.* 1982:4). In Scotland, these determinants are reflected in the heteronomy, which exist between English, the statusful variety, and Scots, the vernacular.[9] Within Scottish diglossic or diaglossic speech communities, a high variety (English) will serve for outgroup, public, formal communications, and a low variety (Scots) will serve as ingroup, private, familiar communications (McArthur 1979).[10] Perhaps most importantly, the dialect one utilizes for personal interactions represents the social group with which one identifies. This should indicate that those who converse in Scots, and identify their speech as Scots, would consider themselves Scots speakers.

Murdoch (1995) produced the first language attitude study to specifically address the issue of how Scots language is perceived (see Macafee 1997). 450 respondents in 15 communities across Scotland that varied in size and setting (rural or urban) were asked: *What do you consider your native language? Answers such as Doric, Shetlandic or Glaswegian will be taken to mean that dialect of Scots and not a dialect of English unless otherwise stated*. The interviews were conducted in the language most appropriate for each community: Gaelic, SSE or a regional Scots variety. Over half of respondents (57%) considered themselves Scots speakers; when Gaelic communities were omitted, that percentage jumped to 67%. Social class, age, community network and regional differences were discovered in regards to perceived native language. Upper-middle and middle-class speakers in nonmanual jobs, younger respondents and urban Lowland regions tended to self identify as English speakers, while working-class manual workers, older respondents and respondents from rural, closeknit communities in Shetland, Orkney and Grampian rated highest as self-identified Scots speakers.

[9] Perceptions of these sociostructural factors influences language standardization and vitality, therefore, "the perception of these attributes is more important for attitudes than their actual existence" (Ryan *et al.* 1982:5).

[10] Language attitudes vary along social status and group solidarity dimensions. The standardness of a variety depends upon the relative social status or power of the speech community. If a language has been standardized, it is viewed as having a correct variety and this variety is seen as the formal, most likely written, language used and admired by the speech communities. Standardization leads to increased autonomy of a language variety and its community. A language's vitality is its visibility and use within the community: the more functions the variety plays in the community, and the more important symbolic functions it serves, the more vitality the variety has. The vitality is dependent upon the solidarity exhibited by the speech community.

2.3 Perceptual dialectology

The field of perceptual dialectology can be defined as "the dialectologist's-sociolinguist's-variationist's interest in folk linguistics" (Preston 1999a:xxv). Folk perceptions serve as an important aspect social identity formation, particularly in reference to correlations between group stereotyping and linguistic factors (Preston 2002:41). They are a part of the culture and identity of a group; they may contrast with or provide additional information to related scientific knowledge; they carry immense significance to the efficiency and efficacy of applied specialist fields; and they "provide a helpful corollary to both production and attitudes studies of regional (and other) varieties" (Preston 1993:333; see Niedzielski and Preston 1999:41; Preston 1999a:xxiv-v; Ryan and Giles 1982:223). Perceptions not only provide essential knowledge for societal and interactional approaches to linguistics, they could also potentially weigh heavily into linguistic change: "folk notions of language might themselves be shapers of directions for change and clues to otherwise apparently unmotivated choices in such change" (Preston 1993:334; Preston 1989).

The field stems from an ethnographic understanding of perception (Preston 1989). It examines a number of different questions related to how speakers overtly perceive language variation: "What social characteristics are overtly regarded by a speaker as supporting linguistic differences? Where does an ordinary speaker believe language differences exist geographically? What do such speakers believe about the etiology and relative values of language varieties?" (Preston 1989:2).[11] One of the major issues with the field of perceptual dialectology has been identifying how and where it fits into the field of linguistics (Montgomery 2006:36). Figure 2.3 provides an illustration designed to address that issue.

[11] The presentation, titled, "A proposal for the study of folk-linguistics", was delivered at the 1964 UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference. In his address, Hoenigswald addresses his desire to see research into peoples' perceptions of language, language taboos and standards, acquisition, social structure, abnormalities and more a detailed summary of Hoenigswald's presentation, as well as an analysis of its rebuttals can be found in Niedzielski and Preston 2000. According to Preston (1993; 1989; 1999; with Niedzielski 1999), the formal study of perceptual dialectology began with Hoenigswald's call for the study of folk linguistics.

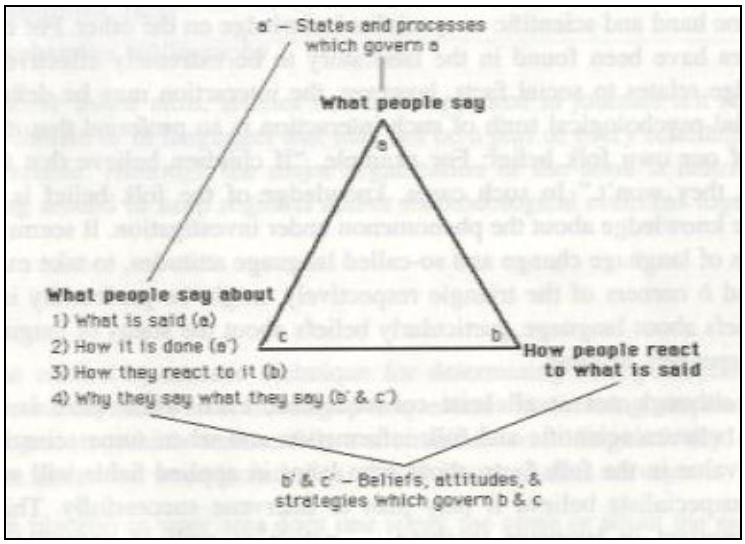

Figure 2.3 Three approaches to language data (Preston 1999:xxiii)

This tripartite model of language examines the three basic aspects of linguistic research (Preston 1999a:xxiii-iv). At the top of the triangle lies (a) the raw data of what people say, which, as linguists of many fields have discovered, tends to vary by group. Below that lie (b) commentary on what people say and (c) overt reactions to language use and variation. There is an added layer of depth: behind (a) sits a': "linguists seek not only to classify language use but also to account for it by determining the cognitive, social interactive, geographical and other forces that explain its acquisition, shape, distribution, change and employment" (Preston 1999a:xxiii). And behind (b) and (c) are b' and c': the attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes and values people host that control (b) and (c).

The most influential and pioneering research in the field has been conducted by Dennis Preston (1989, 1996, 1999, 1999 with Niedzielski). Preston's work has served as the methodological standard for most of the recently conducted perceptual dialectology. Focusing primarily, although not exclusively, on the United States, his work has adapted a number of important methods from neighbouring fields, including the characterizations of respondents and qualitative data on perceptions found in sociolinguistics (Labov 1966, 1972); the "mental maps" questionnaire of cultural geography (Gould and White 1986); the attitudinal dimensions of social status (correctness) and group solidarity (pleasantness) from the social psychology of language (Ryan *et al.* 1982); and the emphasis on degree of difference and the importance of regional variation from earlier dialectological perception studies (Weijnen 1999; Grootaers 1999).

Preston's five-point methodological approach to perceptual dialectology study has been refined over many studies carried out and is presented below (Preston 1999a:xxxiv; see Montgomery and Beal 2011:129):

1. *Draw-a-map*. Respondents draw boundaries on a blank (or minimally detailed map around areas where they believe regional speech zone exist.
2. *Degree of difference*. Respondents rank regions on a scale of one to four (1 = *same*, 2 = *a little different*, 3 = *different*, 4 = *unintelligibly different*) for the perceived degree of dialect difference from the home area.
3. *"Correct" and "pleasant"*. Respondents rank regions for correct and pleasant speech.
4. *Dialect identification*. Respondents listen to voices on a "dialect continuum", although the voices are presented in a scrambled order. The respondents are instructed to assign each voice to the site where they think it belongs.
5. *Qualitative data*. Respondents are questioned about the tasks they have carried out and are engaged in open-ended conversations about language varieties, speakers of them, and related topics.

The most prominent conclusions of the work are as follows (Preston 1999a:xxxiv-v):

6. *Mental maps*: Respondents label stigmatized varieties and local areas most frequently.
7. *Correct and pleasant scales*: linguistically secure respondents rate their dialect most correct and include a larger connected area as most pleasant. Linguistically insecure respondents rate their dialect as most pleasant but vary as far as where they rank most correct.
8. *Degree of difference*: linguistically secure respondents rate the least correct and pleasant areas as most different. Linguistically insecure respondents are once again less consistent.

Studies conducted throughout America reveal that American respondents have agreement over areal prescriptivism, respondents have a tendency to self-identify and once again concluded "dialect perception may be generated by linguistic differences, popular culture caricatures and local identification strategies" (Preston 1989:122, 1999; Fought 2002; Hartley 1999).

A number of studies have followed Preston's original perceptual dialectology methodology to produce a wide array of perceptual data for regions around the world. Recent studies have thus far been carried out in Japan (Long 1999), Germany (Dailey-O'Cain 1999), France (Kuiper 1999; Leonard 2002), Turkey (Demirci and Kleiner 1999; Demirci 2002), Wales (Coupland *et al.* 1999), Brazil (Preston 1989), Canada (Evans 2002; McKinnie and Dailey-O'Cain 2002), the United States (Preston 1986, 1989, 1999b; Hartley 1999; Fought 2002; Niedzielski 2002); England (Inoue 1999; Kerswill and Williams 2002; Montgomery 2006), Hungary (Kontra 2002), Spain (J. Fernandez and F. Fernandez 2002), Italy (Romanello 2002) and Switzerland (L'Eplattenier-Saugy 2002). Those involving the United Kingdom are of particular relevance and will be discussed below in more detail.

2.4 Perceptual dialectology in the United Kingdom

Inoue (1999) found Great Britain consisted of standard (standardness vs. accentedness) and urban (urbanity vs. rural/pastoral) terms (154). These coincided with the social psychological evaluative dimensions, *status and solidarity* (Ryan *et al.* 1982), which have been identified in Japan as *individual and collective* and in America as *pleasant and correct* (Preston 1989). Interestingly, and of particular relevance to the current study, Scotland rated separately from the rest of Great Britain in terms of prestige (Inoue 1999:169).

Using a questionnaire based on perceptual dialectology studies (Preston 1989) and Welsh cultural and attitudinal studies, Coupland *et al.* (1999) and Garrett *et al.* (2003) studied perceptions across three evaluative dimensions: pleasantness, dynamism and prestige (Coupland *et al.* 1999:339). The findings revealed that Welshness ("truly Welsh sounding") served as a fourth dimension, which did not correlate highly with any of the other dimensions (Garrett *et al.* 2003:140-1).[12]

Kerswill and Williams (2000, 2002) conducted a dialect recognition task as part of a study on dialect levelling in English new towns. While the methodology is not particularly relevant to this study, the results indicated the stronger the local ties of a community, the better

[12] The study only assessed teachers' perceptions, which naturally contain a high degree of prescriptivism, thereby limiting the generalisations of the findings. To gain perceptions across the Welsh population, a wider sample of occupations could be analysed.

the dialect community recognition and highly distinctive dialects are more recognizable than less distinctive dialects.[13]

Montgomery (2006) explored perceptions regarding England's North-South divide to gain a further understanding of the cultural and linguistic identity and dialect loyalty of Northern England. Three factors stood out as contributing the most to the perception of language variation in England: cultural salience, claiming/denial and proximity. Respondents were more likely to identify places and dialects they had heard of, those that were culturally salient and lay claim or deny association or similarity with dialects that did not rate highly on likeability.[14]

[13] Kerswill and Williams (2002) uncovered no direct correlation between the linguistic focusing and dialect perception, indicating dialect perception is a complex and multifaceted process and involves a number of other factors, such as the interplay among social and social psychological variables.

[14] The study was overall successful in gathering data on an important aspect of English culture. However, Montgomery (2006) did not interview respondents and therefore collected no substantial qualitative data from which to analyse the relationship between perception and identity.

3. Methodology

This chapter examines the methodology employed for this study. The first section provides a detailed account of the fieldwork process and introduces the demographics of the community and respondents selected to take part in the study. The second section details the development of and contents within the questionnaire. Based on three of Preston's five methods, the questionnaire utilised a traditional perceptual dialectology approach while introducing a few Scotland-specific innovations, such as scales measurements of broadness (Inoue 1999) and Scottishness (Coupland *et al.* 1999), a qualitative Scots language section and a second map-drawing activity based on Scots language.[15] Analysis methods are introduced as the first section of the results and discussion chapters.

3.1 Data collection

The data were collected on two separate four-day trips to Buckie over the summer of 2011. The respondents were selected with the help of a high-ranking local contact and member of one of the oldest families in Buckie[16], who was involved with the local church and many social groups. She introduced me to respondents and accompanied me to local community functions to secure respondents who met the study's gender and age group requirements. In having a local contact with such strong ties, I was quickly able to establish rapport within the community.

Whenever possible, the interviews were conducted in person by me. A handful of questionnaires were distributed to respondents to fill out when unable to make arrangements to meet with me in person. Most of the interviews took place in the homes of respondents, often with a multiple respondents completing questionnaires simultaneously.[17]

My inherent outgroup status as an American served very much to my advantage. The respondents were intrigued by my interest in their culture and were very open and welcoming to discussing their perceptions during the interviews, perhaps more so than if I spoke with an English English or SSE dialect. While respondents may not have been as open to me as they would have an ingroup community member, because I was completely removed from the

[15] I did not record post-task conversations, though many discussions were had regarding the questionnaires; and there was no dialect identification task involved in this study.

[16] I was put in touch with Moira Smith, mother of Glasgow University Lecturer, Dr. Jennifer Smith, who served as my primary ingroup contact within Buckie. Dr. Smith has stated she is a "member of one of the oldest families in the community" of Buckie (Smith 2000:238).

[17] Many of the respondents were well acquainted with one another, either through social groups or family, as Buckie is a rural community with strong closeknit network ties (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1980).

linguistic spectrum, they often saw me as ignorant to their culture. Respondents did not appear to feel threatened or judged during the interview process, even knowing I was a master's degree student studying Scots and English language linguistics.

3.1.1 Community

Buckie is a small coastal town with a population of 8000 situated along the Northeast coast of Scotland within the county of Moray. The closest city is Aberdeen, located 60 miles southeast. Buckie was settled in the seventeenth century (Chisholm 1961) and developed into a closeknit, strong-ties fishing community network, reliant upon specialized skills for work in the North Sea. When the fishing industry declined, Buckie did not suffer an exodus seen in similar coastal towns. With the discovery of North Sea oil in the 1970s, Buckie's economy shifted from fishing to oil, where many men whose fathers were fishermen are now employed on oil rigs.

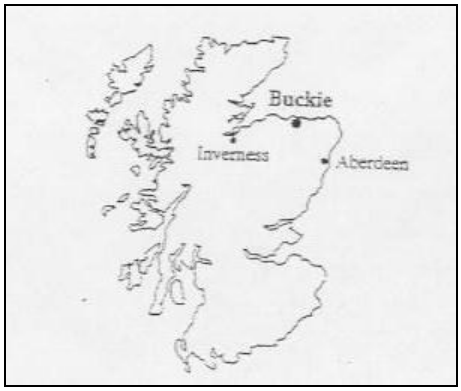

Figure 3.1 Map of Buckie (Smith 2001:113)

Buckie maintains a relatively "exclusive and endogamous" community (McClure 2002:3), where residents feel little desire to leave (Smith 2000). In addition to its geographic isolation, Buckie has maintained economic independence from more urban Scottish centres and its dialect has remained "relatively unhindered by prescriptive norms" (Smith 2000:236-238). "The relative isolation and geographic semi-independence from the rest of Scots has assured a strong linguistic identity" as well as closeknit community structure (Johnston 1997:445). Buckie English, one of the Northeast dialects known as "the Doric", is known as a "relic area" (Smith 2001:115), which has preserved features in its dialect that have been elsewhere lost. The local language remains "well-preserved and highly differentiated" (McClure 1979:29, 2002:7-19) due to this dense,

strong-ties community network (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1985; L. Milroy 2002). Buckie's strong linguistic and cultural identity, make it a fascinating place to begin a perceptual study on Scottish language.

3.1.2 Respondents

To qualify for participation, respondents had to have been born and raised in Buckie and spent no more than ten years away from the community. Fifty-one respondents were utilized in the study, ranging in age from 19 to 77 years old. Respondents were divided into three age groups: 19-39 years (18 respondents); 40-59 years (18 respondents); and 60-77 years (15 respondents). The group consisted of 30 women and 21 men. Thirty-seven respondents (73%) were born and raised in central Buckie (Buckie, Buckpool and Ianstown); the other 14 respondents (28%) were born and raised within five miles of Buckie. All the respondents had at least one parent born and raised in the Northeast (Grampian) region of Scotland. No respondent had spent more than six years away and 25 respondents (49%) had never lived outside of Buckie. Of the 21 respondents who had lived outside of Buckie, the majority had remained in the Grampian region, most of them to attend university in Aberdeen. Three respondents lived temporarily in England and only two respondents had spent one year outside the United Kingdom.

Respondents' occupations and education levels reflected the low social and geographical mobility of a dense social network structure of the rural town. Only 16 of the respondents obtained a degree or postgraduate degree and six had completed college or vocational training. Twenty-five respondents completed highers and one respondent did not complete high school. Most of the respondents were employed locally. Although fishing no longer dominated workforce, the majority of working male respondents worked offshore either as fishermen or as oil rig crewmembers. Others held local sales and shopkeeping, administrative and clerical positions. There were seven respondents who worked in education, which could have implications as to the validity of the subjective measures of Scottish English varieties.

As for geographical mobility, 18 respondents (37%) had a daily commute of less than one mile. Fifteen respondents commuted one to five miles to work. Nine respondents commuted 14 to 30 miles to work and five respondents worked offshore. Only eight respondents travelled outside Buckie on a daily basis. Six respondents left Buckie 4-6 times a week and eleven respondents left 2-3 times a week. Sixteen respondents left Buckie once a week and four

respondents travelled outside Buckie once a month or less. The same respondents were utilized for each portion of the survey.

3.2 Questionnaire

Respondents were handed a nine-page questionnaire to fill out. The questionnaire included a background information section, two map-drawing tasks, a short-answer section on Scots language and a scales-rating section.

3.2.1 Background information

The first page gathered respondent data, which included background information and their perceptions of Buckie as a community. Respondents were asked about age, sex, occupation, highest level of education completed, which part of Buckie raised in, how many years lived away from Buckie, where parents where from, the community structure found in Buckie, how far the commute to work was and how often they travelled outside of Buckie. These questions ensured respondents were qualified for participation in the study, confirmed Buckie's strong-ties community network structure and allowed for the removal of respondents from the study as necessary.

3.2.2 Scots language

The Scots Language section posed a series of questions to gather short-answer qualitative data to better understand the folk perceptions of *Scots* and reveal perceptions regarding the language situation in Scotland. Each question consisted of one to three blank lines, for respondents write answers. The method provided for free-form responses and respondents could write as many answers as they wanted to each question, which often led to a wide variety of responses.

These questions were as follows: *What language(s) are spoken in Scotland?*; *What language(s) do you speak?*; *Are there people in your community that speak or sound differently from you? If so, who? What are the differences?*; *What is Scots? Please describe it to the best of your ability and provide examples of it if possible*; *Do people in Scotland currently speak Scots? If so, who speaks it?*; *Do you speak Scots? If so, when would you speak it? Where would you speak it? Who would you speak it with?*; *Do people outside of Scotland speak Scots? If so, where?*; and *Whether or not you believe Scots is spoken today, was there ever a time when Scots*

was spoken in Scotland? If so, when?; Any additional comments? The questions were designed to assess if the concept of Scots is considered a language or dialect, whether or not the respondents separate Scots from English and whether they can recognise stylistic variation, i.e. style-drifting and code-switching (Aitken 1984b).

3.2.4 Scales

Though presented here in a different order, to not impact the perceptions of regions in the hand-drawn maps task, the scales task was the final section of the questionnaire and gathered specifically quantitative data. Respondents were asked to rate 12 regions of Scotland on a scale of 1 through 7 according to five different criteria: degree-of-difference, correctness, pleasantness, broadness and Scottishness. All five scales were delivered with a 1 through 7 rating system. There is no standard for the scale numbers in perceptual dialectology surveys; 1-7 was chosen to include a neutral response option (4) and because it had been utilised before successfully (Hartley 1999).

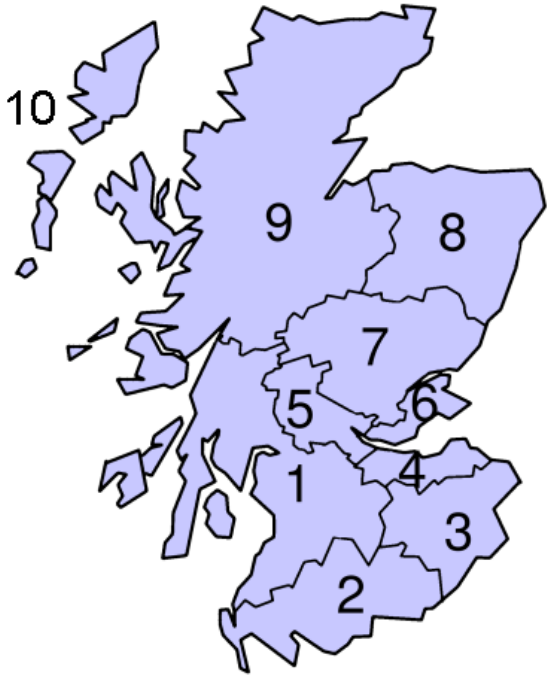

Figure 3.2 Scottish government regions (excluding Orkney and Shetland) 1973 to 1996

Figure 3.2 presents 10 of the 12 regions selected for the task: *The Borders, Central, Dumfries and Galloway, Fife, Grampian, Highland, Lothian, Orkney, Shetland, Strathclyde, Tayside* and *Western Isles*, were the regions which had served as Scotland's former local government regions between 1973 and 1996. They are well-known and easily identifiable regions and six of the 12 regions listed major cities within the regions, such as Edinburgh (Lothian), Glasgow (Strathclyde) and Inverness (Highland). The first three tasks were adopted from the work of Preston (1989, 1999) to identify linguistic insecurity and language attitudes (Ryan *et al.* 1982). Space for additional comments was provided at the bottom of each scale page.

The degree-of-difference scale was adopted from Preston (1989, 1999); the original format includes a scale of one through four: (1=*same*, 2=*a little different*, 3=*different*, 4=*unintelligibly different*) (Preston 1999a:xxxiv). The format was modified in this study, in order to maintain the cohesive seven-point scale for all five scales. Respondents were asked to rate the 12 regions on a scale of 1: *Impossible to comprehend* to 7: *Sounds just like you*.

Derived from cultural geography (Gould and White 1986) and social psychology studies of language attitudes (Ryan *et al.* 1982), Preston (1999) adapted evaluative dimensions of language attitude studies (social status and group solidarity) of standard and non-standard varieties into correct (status) and pleasant (solidarity) scales to measure linguistic security. For the correctness and pleasantness scales, respondents were asked to rate the regions as: 1: *Least correct/pleasant* to 7: *Most correct/pleasant*.

Broadness and Scottishness scales were introduced as scales ratings for this study. Broadness was identified as a salient factor within perceptions of the United Kingdom according to the work of Inoue (1999). Respondents were asked to rate the regions between 1: *Not broad at all* to 7: *Extremely broad*. Scottishness was based off the work by Garrett *et al.* (2003) in Wales, which identified the degree of Welshness as a separate "fourth dimension" of perception, which did not correlate to degree-of-difference, correctness, or pleasantness (Coupland *et al.* 1999:339). I am interested to see if *Scottishness* was a linguistic discernable quality and whether certain dialects and dialect regions held a stronger Scottish identity than others. Respondents were asked to rate the regions between 1*: Not Scottish sounding* to 7: *Very Scottish sounding*.

3.2.3 Maps

Respondents were asked to complete two map-drawing tasks. The maps were blank maps of Scotland including the Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland in accurate geographical approximation to mainland Scotland. The three largest and most populated cities in Scotland, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow, were marked on the map for geographical reference. Based on the conclusions drawn from previous studies, the inclusion of geographical reference points appears to aid in the establishment of geographical reference without hindering awareness of other perceived regions (Preston 1989; Montgomery 2006).

The first map followed in the methodological footsteps of Preston (1986, 1989, 1999). The instructions presented at the top of the page, and reinforced during the interview, stated: *Please draw lines around dialect areas in Scotland. Please label each area and describe the speech/ provide examples of the speech in each area you label.*

The second map was structurally identical to the first map, but respondents were instructed to identify where Scots was spoken: *Please draw lines around where Scots is spoken. Please label and provide examples and descriptions for each area. If you do not believe Scots is spoken, please leave the map blank.* Interestingly, and rather unexpectedly, the second map was largely ignored by respondents, with a few respondents adding commentary along the lines of *all areas are speaking Scots*. The results of this map did not provide adequate data to warrant the inclusion of Scots as separate from the perceptions of Scottish speech overall. The qualitative data (i.e. descriptions, dialect labels) gathered from the Scots maps have been included in the discussion of the first map.[18] The dialect lines, however, have not. With the exception of these labels and descriptions, the results and analyses discussed in Chapter 6 are from the first map task. A copy of the questionnaire, including the two maps, can be found in the Appendix 1.

[18] Fourteen respondents added substantial qualitative and descriptive data to the second map, which have been included in the analysis of labels and descriptions.

4. Scots language analysis, results and discussion

4.1 Analysis

To analyse the qualitative Scots language data, all of the responses for each question were transcribed into a spread sheet, where each response was coded. This allowed for as much quantification of the results as possible. The frequencies of coded responses were compared and are presented below. All of the coded responses are included in Appendix 2.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Perceived languages in Scotland

What languages are spoken in Scotland? was answered by 49 of the 51 respondents. Respondents could list as many languages as they wanted and often listed multiple languages. The numbers presented below reflect this overlap. *Gaelic*, *English*, *Doric* and *Scots* were the four most frequently listed languages. The most salient language was *Gaelic* (also listed as *Scots Gaelic*), with 82% of respondents noting its presence in Scotland.[19] *English* was listed by 69%, while 45% said *Scots* (also listed as *Scottish* and *Scotch*) was spoken in Scotland. *Doric* was mentioned by 49% of respondents, listed more frequently than *Scots*. Other regional varieties included were *Lowland Scots*, *Glaswegian*, *Orcadian*, *Invernesian* and *Shetland*. One respondent mentioned *Lallans*, the literary language, as a spoken Scottish language.

Inter-dialect variation was only mentioned by 12% of respondents. Half of those respondents claimed a *dialect of Scots* is spoken, whilst the other half claimed a *dialect of English* is spoken. Non-native languages, e.g. *Chinese*, *Polish*, *Portuguese*, were listed by 12% of respondents, which could reflect a rise in immigration to Buckie due to economic prospects, increasing mobility and contact.

What languages do you speak? was also answered by 49 of the 51 respondents, with two different respondents leaving the question blank. 74% claimed to speak *English*, making it the most stated language spoken by respondents. 47% stated they spoke *Doric*, while 45% claimed to speak *Scots*. A drop in frequency of languages spoken by respondents occurred after these three languages. Although the majority of respondents stated *Gaelic* as a language spoken in Scotland, not one of them claimed to be a speaker.

[19] Interestingly, none of the respondents who listed *Gaelic* chose to list only *Gaelic*; it was always presented alongside another language, such as *English* or *Doric*.

None of the respondents mentioned speaking any of the other regional varieties. Two respondents claimed to speak a *dialect of Scots*, while one other claimed to speak a *dialect of English*. Three respondents mentioned speaking non-native languages, including *school-girl French* and *German*, most likely languages taught in school.

LANGUAGE	# WHO CLAIM THIS LANGUAGE IS SPOKEN		# WHO CLAIM TO SPEAK THIS LANGUAGE	
Gaelic	40	(81.6%)	0	
English	34	(69.4%)	36	(73.5%)
Doric	24	(49.0%)	23	(46.9%)
Scots	22	(44.9%)	22	(44.9%)
Non-native languages	6	(12.2%)	3	(6.1%)
Dialect of Scots	3	(6.10%)	2	(4.1%)
Dialect of English	3	(6.10%)	1	(2.0%)
Lowland Scots	3	(6.10%)	0	
Glaswegian	2	(4.10%)	0	
Orcadian	2	(4.10%)	0	
Invernesian	1	(2.0%)	0	
Shetland	1	(2.0%)	0	
Lallans	1	(2.0%)	0	

Figure 4.1 A comparison of what language(s) respondents speak to what language(s) they believe are spoken in Scotland

Figure 4.1 compares responses to both questions. Both questions presented interesting responses regarding the identification of regional varieties and mixed varieties. Had the word *dialect* been utilised, I predict more respondents would have identified more Scottish dialects. It is therefore surprising that Doric as well as other regional varieties were listed as languages of Scotland as frequently as they were.

The classification of the three most frequently listed languages: *English*, *Doric* and *Scots*, provides interesting insight as to how respondents categorised their linguistic repertoire. Out of the 49 respondents to identify the languages they spoke, 25 respondents (51%) listed only one language. Of those 25 respondents, 14 stated *English* as the only language they spoke, while 11 stated they spoke a Scots variety: five listed *Scots* and six listed *Doric*. Seventeen of the 49 respondents (35%) claimed to speak two of those varieties: eight spoke *English* and *Doric*, six

*Respondents could list multiple languages for both questions

spoke *English* and *Scots* and three spoke *Doric* and *Scots*. Five respondents (10%) claimed to speak all three languages. Additionally, two respondents (4%) listed their speech as a mixed dialect: one combined Scots with English: *English with Scottish intonations* (1M6) and one combined Scots with Doric: *Scottish with East Coast words thrown in* (2M4). The data described above and listed in Figure 4.2 provide understanding into overt folk perceptions of stylistic language choices and code switching within the community and beyond.

SPEECH	COUNT	TOTAL	
English only	14		
Doric only	6		
Scots only	5		
ONE LANGUAGE		25	(51.0%)
English and Doric	8		
English and Scots	6		
Doric and Scots	3		
English, Scots, and Doric	5		
THREE LANGUAGES		5	(10.2%)
Scots with English	1		
Scots with Doric	1		
MIXED DIALECT		2	(4.1%)
TOTAL		49	(100%)

Figure 4.2 Reported language variation, n=49

4.2.2 Perceived community variation

To analyse the proceeding questions, the following generalisations were considered. If an answer were left blank, it was discounted from the total number of responses. Any response not overtly negating the question was counted as a *yes*.

Before introducing the term Scots, *Do people in your community speak differently from you? If so, who?* was asked. This question was designed to analyse overt perceptions of sociolinguistic variation within the Buckie speech community and particularly to see if speaking Scots was considered amongst this variation. I hypothesised respondents would not find overt variation within the community, though stylistic variation may be apparent.

The question was answered by 48 respondents. Four respondents found no variation within the Buckie speech community; 45 respondents admitted to variation within Buckie.[21]

[21] One respondent wrote *no* and also added an example of variation. This response was therefore considered in both pools. Unless otherwise stated, the data below reflect percentages from a total of 45.

While an understanding of inter-community variation was expected, the results proved unexpected. No respondent mentioned a group of native Buckie speakers as speaking differently; there was no overt awareness of any local social stratification listed by respondents. One respondent mentioned broadness varying within the community, but did not specify whether this referred to stylistic variation or social or regional stratification.

The results reflect a recent influx to the community of foreign labourers and English holidaymakers. Thirty-eight respondents (84.4%) claimed variation existed amongst incomers and outgroup members residing within Buckie. Respondents listed multiple types of variation. Out of those 38 respondents, 19 mentioned immigrants, foreign workers and international residents to account for variation. Twenty respondents mentioned incomers from other areas of the United Kingdom, specifically the English, who were referred to repeatedly as the *White Settlers*. Twenty respondents mentioned incomers from other areas of Scotland, with five of those respondents specifically identifying regional variation within the Northeast coastal region.

PERCEIVED DIFFERENCE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Englishness, speaking posh and proper	6
Vocabulary, words and phrases	5
Broadness	4
Dialect	4
Accent	4
Speed	3
Pronunciation	1
Tone	1

Figure 4.3 Types of overt perceived variation within the speech community, n=24

Figure 4.3 shows the types of variation listed by respondents. Twenty-four of the 45 respondents to identify variation (53.3%) listed types of differences they found in speech within the community. *Englishness*, or speaking *posh* or *proper*, was the most frequently identified type of speech variation. Five respondents claimed *vocabulary* differences and the use of different words and phrases. *Broadness* of speech was listed by four respondents, as were *dialect* and *accent* differences. *Speed*, *pronunciation* and *tone* were also listed.

4.2.3 Perceptions of Scots

The remaining questions asked pertained directly to the term *Scots*. *What is Scots?* sought to identify the relevance and the salience of the term Scots to nonlinguists, particularly to a group of nonlinguists whose native speech variety is widely considered to be Scots (McClure 1988).

The question was left unanswered by three respondents, leaving a data pool of 48. Four respondents were *unfamiliar with the term*, three claimed that Scots referred to the *people of Scotland*, one believed Scots was a term for *Scots Gaelic* and one believed Scots referred to the *works of Robert Burns*.

Thirteen of the 48 respondents (27%) claimed *Scots* was the native language and national tongue of Scotland and 24 respondents (50%) considered Scots a *dialect*. Thirteen of those 24 respondents considered Scots *a dialect form of English*, describing it as a *variety*, *mixture*, *slang* or *corrupt form*. See Figure 4.4:

WHAT IS SCOTS?	COUNT (n=48)
A Dialect	24
The Language of Scotland	13
Unfamiliar with term	4
The people of Scotland	3
Other	2
Scots Gaelic	1
Robert Burns' works	1

Figure 4.4 Responses to What is Scots? *n=48*

Sixteen respondents mentioned Scots as a *spoken variety*. Twelve respondents remarked on its regional distinctiveness. Eighteen respondents described Scots, with 15 of them providing examples of their local Doric speech, all of which can be found in Appendix 2.

Do people in Scotland currently speak Scots? If so, who speaks it? was designed to address whether respondents could identify Scots as existing in rural and urban working-class Scottish communities (Macafee 1983; McClure 1979). Where in Scotland do respondents believe Scots is spoken? Do they believe it is a dialect of the social class? Do they believe it is spoken across Scotland? Do the respondents consider themselves to be Scots speakers, as past research has indicated (Johnston 1997; Aitken 1984b; Macafee 1997; McClure 2002; Murdoch 1995)?

All 51 respondents answered the question, indicating the question was relevant and significant to the respondents. One respondent asked to *pass* on the question. Scots is not

currently spoken according to three respondents, while the other 47 respondents claimed it is currently spoken. As Figure 4.5 demonstrates, respondents believe Scots is currently spoken in Scotland.

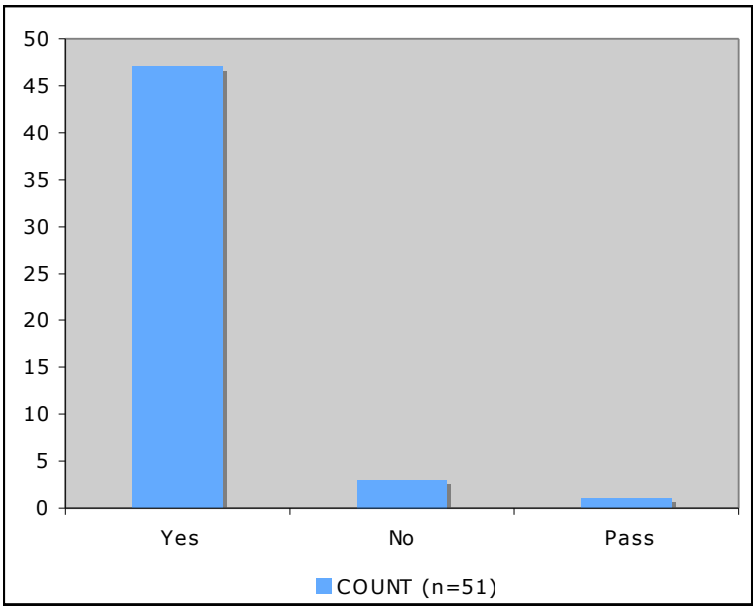

Figure 4.5 Responses to Do people in Scotland currently speak Scots? *n=51*

Nineteen of the 47 respondents believed that *all Scottish people* currently speak Scots; and seven believe that *most people* currently speak Scots, though respondents did not specify which people did not speak it, nor what was spoken instead of Scots.

Scots was *regionally spoken* according to 15 respondents. Ten of those respondents identified Scots as *spoken locally and within the Northeast*, two identified *Glasgow* as Scots-speaking and two others believed Scots is spoken in *the Highlands and Western Isles*.

Respondents noted age grading within Scots, which has been well documented in sociolinguistic studies throughout Scotland (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007; McGarrity 1998; Murdoch 1995; Macafee 1994; Macaulay 1991, 1977). Five respondents claimed Scots is spoken by *older generations*. Only two respondents commented on the social stratification of Scots, stating it was spoken by *ordinary people* and *predominantly by the working class*. Three respondents stated Scots was currently spoken as a *dialect or variation of English*; and four others stated it was *spoken currently in varying degrees, depending on the activity or location of the speaker*.

Do you speak Scots? If so, when would you speak it? Where would you speak it? Who would you speak it with? was answered by 50 respondents. Three respondents said they do not speak Scots. Forty-six respondents (92%) claimed to speak Scots. There was variation within the types of responses to this question. Some respondents were emphatic about speaking Scots:

> I personally speak in ma ane 'mither tongue' aa the time, disna usually maitter far aboot I am unless as I said afore, ye widna purposefully speak broad Buckie in front o fowk that widna hae a clue fit ye were saying! If ye ken fit a mean? (2F7)

Few of the respondents answered all four questions posed, often addressing only one or two of them. Therefore, the data collected reflects a smaller set of numbers of each particular question. For when Scots is spoken, seven respondents claimed to speak Scots *all the time*, four said they spoke it *most of the time* and six said they spoke it *everyday*, without specifying if they switched registers or not. For where it is spoken, nine respondents said they spoke Scots *at home*, while seven respondents claimed to speak Scots *at work and in meetings*. Four respondents said they spoke Scots *within the town and the community*. Only three respondents claimed to speak Scots *everywhere*.

The question of with whom you would speak Scots had a much higher response rate amongst respondents. As Figure 4.6 shows, six respondents said they would speak Scots *with everyone*. Fourteen respondents said they would speak Scots *with other Scots speakers and other Scottish people*. Twelve respondents said they spoke Scots *locally, with neighbours and within the Northeast*. Scots was spoken *with family* according to 12 respondents and 23 respondents claimed they spoke Scots with *friends*. Only four respondents said they spoke Scots with *workmates and colleagues*.

Friends	23
Family	21
Neighbours/Locals	12
Everyone	6
Scots speakers	4
Colleagues	4

Figure 4.6 Responses to With whom respondents speak Scots*, n=50*

Do people outside of Scotland speak Scots? If so, where? was conceived to gauge respondents' awareness of Ulster Scots. Ulster Scots developed from West-Mid and South-Mid Scots and has

been spoken in the historical province of Ulster for the past 400 years as a result of emigration and trade (Montgomery and Gregg 1997:568-622; J. Milroy 1982:23-29).

The results produced quite a different result from originally expected. Only 46 respondents completed the question. Of those respondents, five said Scots was *not spoken outside of Scotland* and one respondent said Scots was *possibly spoken outside of Scotland*. Forty respondents claimed Scots was spoken *outside of Scotland*. Only one respondent identified the *Ulster region of Northern Ireland*. Six respondents claimed Scots was spoken in regions such as *Canada, New Zealand and Australia*, where descendants of Scots live. Twenty-nine respondents believed Scots is spoken by *Scottish expats or by Scottish natives living abroad*, but gave no indication of a native Scots population existing elsewhere. One respondent claimed Scots was spoken outside of Scotland in *the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland*, a geographical confusion which will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

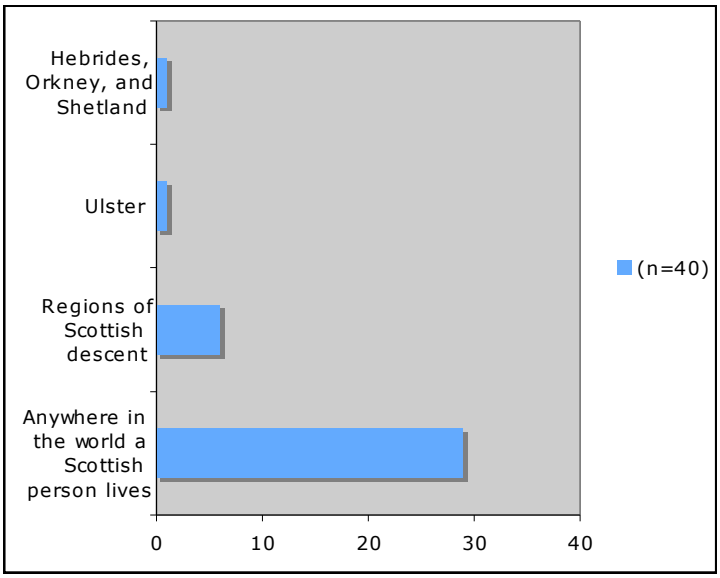

Figure 4.7 Scots furth of Scotland, n=40

While I had expected more respondents to acknowledge Ulster Scots, there is no current separation in terms of linguistic geography and structure from Ulster English; and within Ireland, the perceived Scottish influence is overshadowed by "the default presumption that anything different form English in Ulster has an Irish Gaelic source" (Montgomery and Gregg 1997:619).

While Scots is not accepted by every Scottish person or community as the current speech or even the native tongue of Scotland (Maguire 2012; Macafee 1997; Murdoch 1995), the Northeast has a stronger affinity and local identity built around *Doric*. I would expect the

respondents to claim *Scots* has been spoken in Scotland. *Was there ever a time when Scots was spoken in Scotland?* had the lowest response rate, with only 37 answering the question. Of those respondents, three said *no, Scots has never been spoken*. One respondent *did not know*. Thirty-three claimed Scots has been spoken in Scotland *at some point in time*. Of those 33 respondents, 24 believe Scots *has always been spoken and is still being spoken*, while nine respondents believe *Scots used to be spoken but is no longer*. The phrasing of the question could have led to the low response rate. The question implies Scots is not currently spoken, which could have confused the respondents, who, for the most part, believed Scots is currently spoken.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Scots identity

The overwhelming majority (92%) of respondents believed Scots is currently spoken in Scotland. Respondents' identification of Scots as a variety spoken in familiar, ingroup circles, particularly within families, peer groups and the community, aligns with previously conducted research on rural, northeast Scottish communities views towards Scots (Macafee 1997; Murdoch 1995; McClure 2002); the historical development of Scots (Corbett *et al.* 2003; Aitken 1979; Murison 1977; McClure 1979, 1988); and language attitude pattern structures toward nondominant languages and dialects (Ryan *et al.* 1982; McArthur 1979). The fact that respondents had a difficult time responding to the question which doubted Scots' existence most likely indicates confusion caused by the wording of the question: there was no doubt to them that Scots is still spoken.

Four prominent languages were described as actively spoken in Scotland: *Gaelic*, *English*, *Doric* and *Scots*. The term *Doric* has been commandeered by Northeast inhabitants and has been thought to demonstrate the pride and confidence in their regional speech form (McClure 2002:15). The inclusion and prominence of Doric perhaps demonstrates the local identity surrounding the Northeast region's dialect. Gaelic, although not spoken, was the most salient language identified, most likely due to the cultural revival of Gaelic over the past 40 years (MacKinnon 1984, 2007; Wells 1982). Regional dialects across Scotland were recognised, through surprisingly only one respondent recognised Ulster as a native Scots-speaking region.

For the moment, Buckie remains part of a highly-distinctive and diverse dialect community. Respondents noted immense amounts of Northeast regional variation and were able to distinguish variation from as close as one mile down the coast:

> Even from Findochty one mile along the coast the accent is different to mine from Ianstown. (2F9)
>
> Very varied along the Northeast from town to town. (1F8)
>
> Each area has its own words, even along the coast here, vast differences between small villages. (2F2)

4.3.2 Linguistic accommodation

However, local dialect forms are perceived to be under threat in Buckie. While it was once believed communities like Buckie would "absorb and nativise incomers" (Macafee 1997:546), the respondents admitted to feeling pressure to accommodate their speech for foreign workers, holidaymakers and *White Settlers*.

This accommodation has respondents concerned they are losing the local dialect:

> I would say the majority of residents speak Scottish but would speak English to holidaymakers and tourists. (2F9)
>
> [We] have to adapt to 'incomers' as so to be understood and not appear to be rude. But in doing so, younger generations [are] losing out on hearing 'older' words. (2F7)
>
> Our identity seems to be under threat by having to talk properly for others to understand. Lots of old fishing words are disappearing as a result. (2F7)

Accommodation towards SSE forms may be speeding up the decline of local Scots forms across the traditionally Scots-speaking regions. A shift in local lexical and phonological forms was not measured in this study, as only perceptions were gathered. Studies conducted in other Northeast communities do indicate dialect attrition and shifts toward more urban speech forms are occurring (Marshall 2003). Further research is needed to confirm this perceived dialect impact within Buckie.

5. Scales analysis, results and discussion

5.1 Analysis

The scales data were first separated by age and gender and subjected to one-way ANOVA to test for inter-group variation. ANOVA, the analysis of variance, is a statistical technique which examines difference between two or more sample means. There were no statistically significant differences between group means according to age group and gender, as determined by one-way ANOVA.[22] One-way ANOVA comparing the 12 regions to one another were also run, which demonstrated statistical significance for each of the five scales. A full table of the analyses can be found in Appendix 3

The scales data were run through SPSS k-means cluster analysis, a statistically sound method of identifying "relatively homogenous groups based on the characteristic being evaluated" (McKinnie and Dailey-O'Cain 2002:280). The number of clusters was set at five to give a base comparison for each scale. The data were divided into five groups based on mean similarity. Using the results of the k-means cluster analysis, the data are presented in five maps, one for each scale, as well as in Figure 5.11 as a comparative summary of judgments. K-means cluster data can be found in Appendix 4.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Perceptions of difference

All 51 of the respondents completed the degree-of-difference scale. As Buckie is located within the Grampian region, it was unsurprising for the region to receive the highest rating. Grampian's higher mean rating (6.64) is most likely due to the linguistic uniqueness of the Grampian region and the local identity surrounding the *Doric* dialect (McClure 2002).

[22] Result significance was determined at $p = <0.05$.

REGION	COUNT	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Grampian	48	6.64	0.6
Highland	49	5.49	1.02
Lothian	50	4.84	1.02
Fife	48	4.54	1.17
Tayside	51	4.51	1.03
Dumfries and Galloway	49	4.49	1.04
Borders	50	4.46	1.05
Central	49	4.39	1.19
Strathclyde	50	4.20	1.21
Western Isles	50	3.82	1.45
Shetland	51	3.78	1.17
Orkney	51	3.77	1.29

Figure 5.1 Degree-of-difference data

Highland rated as the second closest speech region (5.49) is a surprising result: the broad Scots spoken in the Grampian region was never spoken natively in the Highland region: the HHE spoken in the Highlands bears little phonological and lexical similarity to Doric (Shuken 1984; Johnston 2007; Mather and Speitel 1977, 1979; MacKinnon 1984, 1997). Lothian speech rated neutrally behind Highland, which may indicate the impact of SSE, as both Highland and Lothian speech are anglicised Scottish speech varieties (Aitken 1984b; Shuken 1984; Johnston 2007). The high rating of Lothian speech could also reflect familiarity with Edinburgh dialects in the media.

The Highland connection to north Northern Scots may account for the high Highland rating, as Caithness and the Black Isle are found in the very northern tip of the Highlands, though I do not believe this is a strong factor behind the rating. Geographic proximity could be an influential factor in that Buckie, which is located within Moray, is not very far from the eastern edge of the Highland Line, which could lead to familiarity and perhaps perceived similarity to Highland speech (Aitken 1984a).

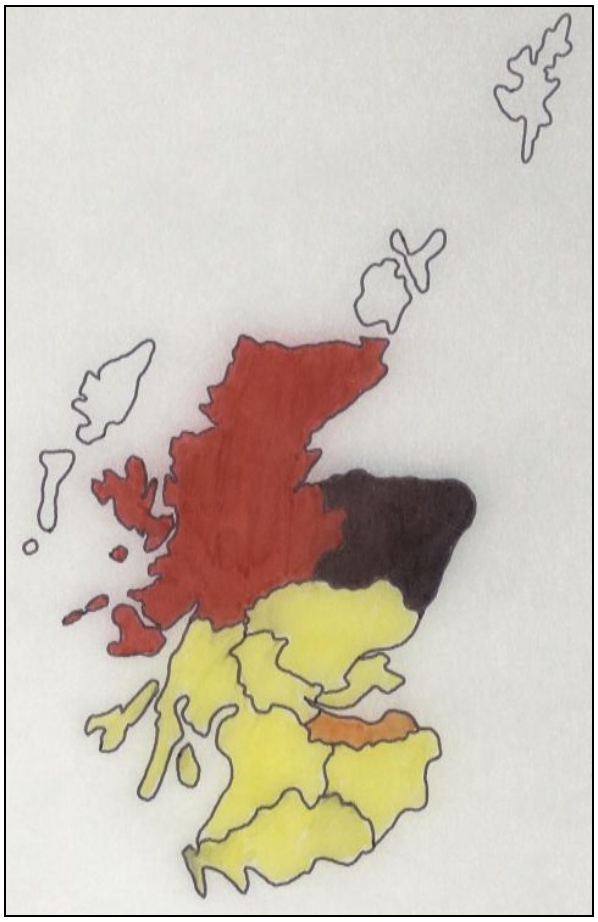

Figure 5.2 Perceptions of degree-of-difference[23]

Fife, Tayside, Dumfries and Galloway, Borders, Central and Strathclyde were closely rated to one another. Their neutrality may indicate the respondents were unsure how to the place them, or did not find them particularly close to or remarkably distinct from their own speech.

The least-similar regions identified were Western Isles, Shetland and Orkney. The regions are geographically the farthest away and are physically disconnected from the Scottish mainland. Gaelic is still presently spoken in the Western Isles (MacKinnon 2007), while Orcadians and Shetlanders once spoke Norn, a language derived from Scandinavian dialects (Millar 2007; Barnes 1991; Melchers 1985). Perceived cultural and linguistic foreignness may have impacted the respondents' understanding of how different the speech is from their own.

[23] K-means cluster data for all scales maps can be found in Appendix 4.

5.2.2 Perceptions of correctness

Data from only 31 respondents was analysed for the correctness scale. Just as Hartley (1999:329-330) discovered in her study of Oregon perceptions of American dialects, respondents struggled to complete the correctness scale. Twenty respondents were not included in the data analysis. Nine of those respondents left the entire page blank, while 11 other respondents circled the same number for all regions, ranging from four through seven. Correctness appears to be a sensitive topic to the respondents, who responded with comments such as:

> In my opinion you cannot comment on speech being correct – What is correct? All dialects are correct in some respect (1F15)
>
> It is correct for the region. We should embrace each area and allow each to have and keep its own identity. Therefore I cannot indicate correctness (2F7)

Highland and Lothian speech were rated as the two most correct forms of Scottish English. SSE is also natively spoken in both the Highlands and Edinburgh. In contrast to Lothian dialects, which are heavily stratified with Scots spoken in WC communities, Highland speech lacks Scots interference almost entirely (Aitken 1984a). Comments in the scales section reflected this admiration toward Highland, particularly Invernesian, speech:

> Most correct in Inverness (2M7)

REGION	COUNT	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Highland	30	5.63	0.81
Lothian	31	5.52	1.12
Borders	31	4.94	0.89
Grampian	31	4.84	1.42
Dumfries and Galloway	31	4.71	0.86
Central	31	4.65	0.92
Tayside	31	4.62	1.09
Fife	31	4.29	1.07
Orkney	30	4.10	1.47
Strathclyde	30	4.07	1.41
Western Isles	31	4.03	1.28
Shetland	30	3.87	1.46

Figure 5.3 Correctness data (1 = least correct; 7 = most correct)

Grampian and Borders, two traditionally rural Good Scots speech regions, rated as rather high for correctness, while Dumfries and Galloway, Central and Tayside rated neutrally. Fife and Orkney were rated low on correctness, followed by Strathclyde, Western Isles and Shetland, which rated least correct. The low rating for Strathclyde is not surprising, as urban Glaswegian vernacular has long been characterised as "rough" and considered Bad Scots (Macafee 1994, 1983; Macaulay 1997).

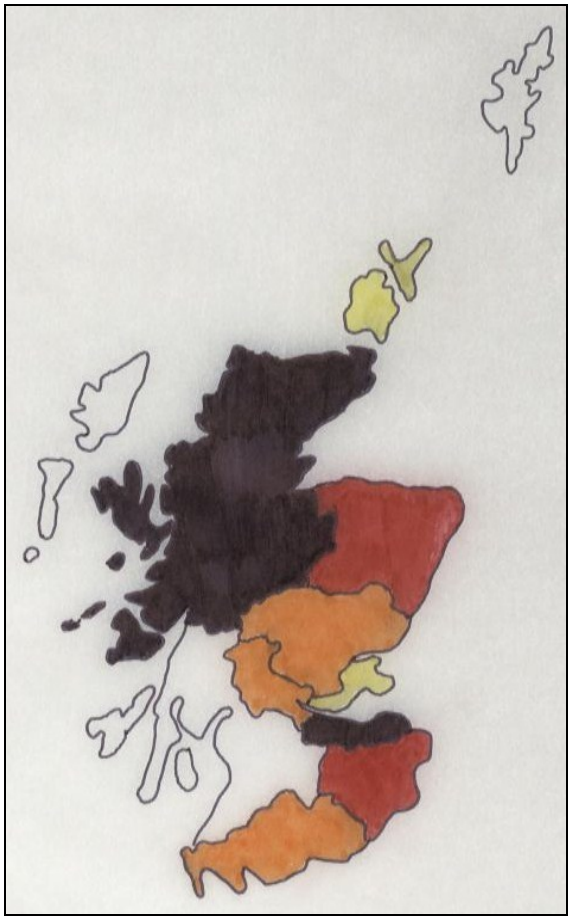

Figure 5.4 Perceptions of correctness

The low ratings for Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland may indicate the regions considered to speak Norse and Gaelic dialects instead of Scottish English. The standard deviation results show mixed views toward perceptions of correctness, particularly of regions where broad dialect is spoken: Grampian, Orkney, Strathclyde and Shetland. This could have to do with inherent confusion pertaining to the rating system.

As no direction or influence was suggested by the fieldworker, a handful of respondents remarked they were unsure whether to rate these regions on correctness of English or correctness of Scots:

> I have graded these according to how close to English they sound (1F12)

This confusion was not felt universally throughout the sample, as many respondents had no problem indicating correctness.

5.2.3 Perceptions of pleasantness

Forty-eight respondents completed the scale for pleasantness. Highland speech was considered to be the most pleasant speech region. Highland region also had the lowest standard deviation for both correctness and pleasantness ratings, which shows there was less contention between respondents as to these high ratings than to variation found in responses measured for other regions. Lothian was rated as the second most pleasant speech region, once again, most likely due to its refined standard middle-class dialects.

REGION	COUNT	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Highland	48	6.00	0.85
Lothian	47	5.36	1.07
Orkney	47	5.17	1.34
Western Isles	48	5.17	1.14
Grampian	48	5.00	1.35
Borders	48	4.98	0.84
Shetland	48	4.94	1.36
Central	47	4.81	0.99
Dumfries and Galloway	48	4.73	1.01
Fife	48	4.31	1.24
Tayside	48	4.21	0.99
Strathclyde	48	3.75	1.38

Figure 5.5 Pleasantness data (1 = least pleasant; 7 = most pleasant)

The most interesting aspect of the pleasantness results is the shift in rank between correctness and pleasantness ratings for Orkney, Western Isles and Shetland. The three regions were rated among the lowest for perceived speech correctness and yet rose to rating highly for pleasantness. Orkney and Western Isles rated high alongside Lothian speech, while Shetland

rated neutrally. The jump in ratings for Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland indicates additional factors are at play: these regions seem to be operating on a separate linguistic dimension in regards to prestige ratings.

As the Northeast region is known for its linguistic solidarity and Doric identity, it was surprising to find Grampian not rated highest for pleasantness. Grampian rated neutrally for pleasantness, along with Dumfries and Galloway, Central and Borders regions.

The lowest ratings for pleasantness went to industrial and Bad Scots speech regions. Fife and Tayside were rated low, while Strathclyde was rated the lowest at 3.75.

Figure 5.6 Perceptions of pleasantness

The extreme ends of the ratings remain relatively stable, indicating a set of prescribed linguistic standards for Scottish speech. According to Kuiper (1999:256), extremely incorrect speech will be regarded as unpleasant; the most correct speech will be inherently perceived as pleasant and the speech regions that lack salient features along these distinctions will remain

neutral. For these respondents, Bad Scots regions consistently rate as incorrect and unpleasant (Strathclyde); SSE regions (Highland; Lothian) rate as the most correct and pleasant; and Good Scots regions (Grampian; Borders) rate as somewhere in between.

5.2.4 Perceptions of broadness

Forty-nine respondents rated regions for broadness. Grampian rated as having the broadest speech and had the lowest standard deviation. The three rural island regions, Shetland, Orkney, and Western Isles, rated as broad. Strathclyde, known for urban Glaswegian speech, also rated highly for broadness. Fife and Tayside were rather neutrally rated for broadness.

REGION	COUNT	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Grampian	48	6.15	0.77
Shetland	49	5.35	1.48
Strathclyde	47	5.32	1.48
Orkney	49	5.32	1.43
Western Isles	48	5.10	1.59
Fife	48	4.92	1.11
Tayside	48	4.73	0.92
Highland	48	4.50	1.65
Central	48	4.46	1.20
Dumfries and Galloway	46	4.39	1.00
Borders	48	4.23	1.15
Lothian	48	3.54	1.60

Figure 5.7 Broadness data (1 = not broad at all; 7 = extremely broad)

Highland, Central, Dumfries and Galloway and Borders all rated as not very broad, while Lothian rated as the least broad. At 3.54, this was the lowest mean attained by any region on any of the scales. Perceptions of refined SSE Edinburgh dialects may account for the very low rating Lothian received. Its geographic proximity to England may also account for the low rating.

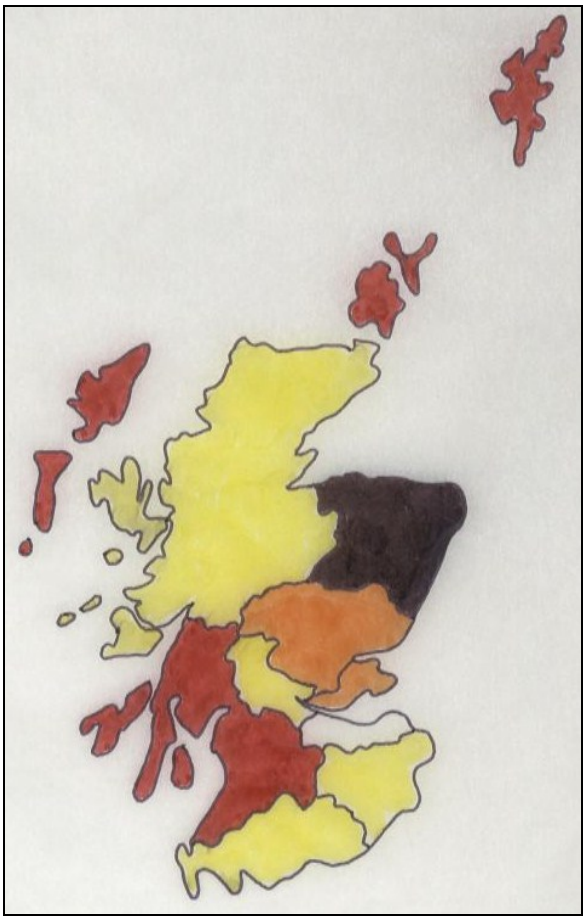

Figure 5.8 Perceptions of broadness

The most surprising result was the uniform low ratings for broadness in southern Scotland. Extralinguistic factors appear to be dictating speech perceptions for these regions. Respondents appear to have based perceptions of broadness on geographic proximity to England. Due to the geographic distance between Buckie and the Scottish/English Border, respondents might not come into contact with people from the Borders or Dumfries and Galloway regularly enough to be acquainted with Southern Scots dialects and local dialect identities. Respondents seem to be completely unaware of the fact that the rural communities within the Scottish/English Border regions speak with traditionally broad Good Scots dialects and hold similar dialect-based identities to communities across the Northeast (Johnston 1997; Sandred 1983).

4.2.5 Perceptions of Scottishness

The Scottishness scales produced interesting and rather unexpected results. Every respondent rated for Scottishness. All of the dialect regions were relatively close in mean, which indicates

no region was considered not-Scottish. The results of this scale did not correlate directly with any of the previously conducted scales. Scottishness is therefore an independent dimension, just as Coupland *et al.* found the Welshness to be (1999:342).

REGION	COUNT	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Grampian	50	6.06	1.04
Strathclyde	49	5.74	1.35
Highland	49	5.46	1.64
Western Isles	51	5.37	1.41
Orkney	51	5.33	1.29
Shetland	51	5.29	1.40
Tayside	50	5.18	1.02
Fife	50	5.16	1.18
Central	49	4.88	1.22
Lothian	50	4.54	1.58
Dumfries and Galloway	50	4.50	1.09
Borders	50	4.46	1.11

Figure 5.9 Scottishness data (1 = not very Scottish sounding; 7 = very Scottish sounding)

The salient idealised Good Scots region (Grampian), stigmatised Bad Scots region (Strathclyde) and admired prestige SSE region (Highland) comprise the three most Scottish speech forms. The fact that the Grampian region rated as the most Scottish sounding was not surprising. Strathclyde was rated highly for Scottishness, which showed that culturally salient Scottish speech forms, regardless of idealisation or stigmatisation, are considered Scottish.

Surprisingly, Highland speech was also rated highly for Scottishness. While SSE speech is covertly and distinctly Scottish (Aitken 1984a), Highland English does not natively employ any Scotticisms, which I would have believed to be a decisive factor for Scottishness.

Figure 5.10 Perceptions of Scottishness

The rest of the speech regions seem to decrease in mean with increasing geographic proximity of the English border: the further south one goes, the less Scottish the speech region is perceived to be. Western Isles, Orkney, Shetland, Tayside and Fife all rated neutrally, with Central rating as slightly less Scottish-sounding. Were the lack of Scotticisms in speech a salient factor, Western Isles and Highland should have rated much lower.

The least Scottish-sounding regions are the regions geographically closest to the Scottish/English border: Lothian, Dumfries and Galloway and Borders. The refined qualities of the Edinburgh dialect, which rated extremely low for broadness, could have permeated perceptions of its surrounding regions. However, the more likely reasoning behind the lowest ratings for Scottishness is geographical proximity to England.

5.3 DISCUSSION

K-means cluster analysis of the scales data indicates Scottish dialects can be grouped together into seven major perceptual groups. When put into these seven groups, it becomes easier to identify and discuss trends in the data (Preston 1989:55). Group clusters were based on the number of times regions were places into the same cluster. Regions that were combined into the same cluster for three or more scales were combined into a group. Four groups consist of a single region: Grampian, Highland, Strathclyde and Lothian. The other eight regions are combined into three clusters: Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland (SHORWI); Fife and Tayside (FT); and Central, Dumfries and Galloway and Borders (CBDG). There is slight variation within those combined groups. For example, Orkney was rated as more correct than the other two and Shetland was considered less pleasant. Tayside was rated as more correct than Fife. The Borders region was more correct than the other two regions and Central was rated more Scottish. However, the overall results demonstrate similarities. Figure 5.11 presents the seven groups with the scales results. The regions are listed in order of degree of Scottishness perceptions and regions are separated by a bold-nonbold pattern. The ratings of *very high*, *high*, *mid*, *low* and *very low* are based on the five clusters identified through the k-means cluster analysis. The data presentation is based on Coupland *et al.* (1999:340).

REGION	SIMILARITY (DEGREE OF DIFFERENCE)	CORRECTNESS	PLEASANTNESS	BROADNESS	SCOTTISHNESS
GRAMPIAN	VERY HIGH	HIGH	MID	VERY HIGH	VERY HIGH
HIGHLAND	**HIGH**	**VERY HIGH**	**VERY HIGH**	**LOW**	**HIGH**
STRATHCLYDE	LOW	VERY LOW	VERY LOW	HIGH	HIGH
WESTERN ISLES	**VERY LOW**	**VERY LOW**	**HIGH**	**HIGH**	**MID**
ORKNEY	**VERY LOW**	**LOW**	**HIGH**	**HIGH**	**MID**
SHETLAND	**VERY LOW**	**VERY LOW**	**MID**	**HIGH**	**MID**
TAYSIDE	LOW	MID	LOW	MID	MID
FIFE	LOW	LOW	LOW	MID	MID
CENTRAL	**LOW**	**MID**	**MID**	**LOW**	**LOW**
DUMFRIES	**LOW**	**MID**	**MID**	**LOW**	**VERY LOW**
BORDERS	**LOW**	**HIGH**	**MID**	**LOW**	**VERY LOW**
LOTHIAN	MID	VERY HIGH	HIGH	VERY LOW	VERY LOW

Figure 5.11 Generalised summary of judgments of speech regions (scales data) based on k-means cluster analysis at k=5

5.3.1 Perceived prestige varieties

Perceptions indicate standard and prestigious speech is Scotland-based. Research in Glasgow reveals Scottish middle-class speakers "with more opportunities for contact with English English speakers and weaker social networks are maintaining Scottish features", while working-class speakers are drifting away from Scottish features by adopting urban, London-based innovations (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007:222). While Edinburgh-influenced Lothian speech would be the assumed aspired-to model of Scottish speech, Highland speech appears to be the prestige variety. The Buckie respondents are not looking south for the standard model, but are instead looking to west to the neighbouring Highlands. Highland was rated most correct, most pleasant and quite Scottish. On a local level, the constant face-to-face interaction with Highland English speakers may provide a more salient model than media broadcasts of refined Edinburgh dialects (Preston 1999a:xxxv).

Were it England-based, Lothian and CBDG regions would have rated higher. Lothian seems to reflect this, as it rated as the second most correct and pleasant speech region, yet it rated low for Scottishness. Lothian is comprised of many socially stratified dialects, some of which are working-class urban Scots varieties, which could have also led to the slightly lower ratings than Highland speech. CBDG was not rated particularly high for correctness nor for pleasantness and as a group received the lowest ratings for Scottishness.

5.3.2 Good Scots/Bad Scots distinction

The Scottish culturally salient Good Scots/Bad Scots distinction is reflected in the data. Regions where SSE is believed to be spoken (Highland, Lothian) were rated as the most similar to respondents' speech, most correct and most pleasant. Glaswegian (Strathclyde), the Bad Scots variety, was rated as among the most different, least correct and least pleasant speech regions. Traditionally Good Scots regions (Grampian, Borders) were rated high for correctness neutrally for pleasantness.[24] I had expected the Good Scots regions to rate more highly, especially for pleasantness. The neutral ratings for Grampian speech indicate a degree of linguistic insecurity for the respondents (Preston 1999a:xxxiv). All three Scottish varieties: SSE, Good Scots and Bad Scots rated highly for Scottishness.

[24] This comparison to Grampian is anomalous to the rest of the data collected on perceptions of the Borders, which overwhelmingly reflect proximity to England.

There seemed to be a lack of cultural salience for two clusters. The FT cluster never produced an extreme rating: both regions received neutral and low ratings on all five scales. Other than producing an extremely low rating for Scottishness, due to geographic proximity to England, CBDG received neutral ratings on the other four scales.

The SHORWI cluster it does not appear to operate on the same prestige dimension as the rest of the dialect regions. Neither Orkney and Shetland's Scots-based dialects nor the Western Isles' Scots-devoid Hebridean English seemed to have any impact on respondents' perceptions of the speech (Shuken 1984; Millar 2007). The foreign quality of speech for the SHORWI cluster—Gaelic in the Western Isles and Norn in Orkney and Shetland—overshadowed any knowledge of Scottish English varieties on those rural regions. Respondents may have rated the regions as very low for similarity and correctness because of the other languages currently (WI) or at one time (SHOR) spoken. Interestingly, these regions rated neutrally for Scottishness, indicating Norn and Gaelic are perceived to be Scottish, definitely more so than the English English perceived to be spoken by in southern Scottish regions. This pleasantness could reflect a lack of urban Scots influence or perhaps the Gaelic-influenced 'lilt' is to blame.

5.3.3 Proximity

Perceptions of the CBDG cluster produce interesting results. The distance between the respondents and the Borders could have impacted this lack of knowledge regarding the local broad Borders Scots, or it could have been the case that Edinburgh speech overshadowed perceptions of the Borders. Its ratings as high for correctness, low for broadness and lowest for Scottishness seem to indicate its proximity to England may have had more to do with the perceptions of these regions than any knowledge of Borders Scots. This appears to be a case of geographic proximity overriding linguistic awareness to dictate dialect quality.

Geographic proximity may also be to blame for a lack of awareness of and confusion for the SHORWI cluster. There was a dramatic shift for pleasantness, where Orkney and Western Isles shift to the third and fourth most pleasant speech regions, and Shetland rates neutrally as the seventh most pleasant. Kuiper (1999:256) found a similar shift in a study of Parisian perceptions of regional speech in France, claiming this pattern "demonstrates that perceptions of pleasantness are quite independent from those of correctness". Or perhaps some aspect of the speech in these regions not measured in any of these five scales accounts for this shift.

6. Maps analysis, results and discussion

6.1 Analysis of hand-drawn maps

Forty-nine of the 51 respondents completed the map drawing task. Of those 49, 81.6% of respondents who drew maps also labelled regions. Forty-seven respondents demarcated dialect regions and 45 respondents labelled and described the dialect regions. The average number of dialect lines for respondents to draw and label was four. One respondent listed 12 dialect regions and five respondents listed only one dialect area, which for all five respondents was in the Northeast. Figure 6.1 contains four of the hand-drawn maps analysed for this dissertation. These demonstrate the variation found in the maps data.

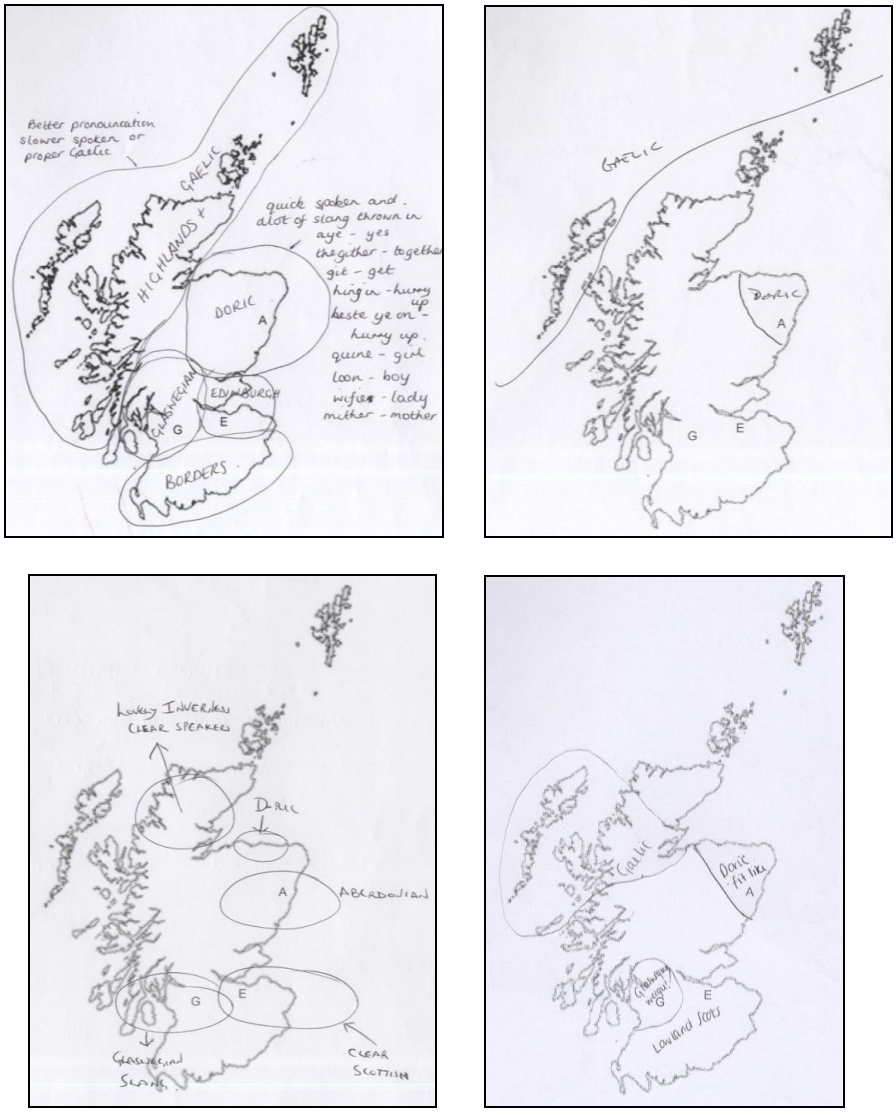

Figure 6.1 Four hand-drawn respondent maps

To analyse the hand-drawn maps, perceptual isoglosses were used to define dialect boundaries from trace paper composites by "drawing an (approximate) boundary for each salient region from the first map and then 'overlaying' each subsequent respondent's map and drawing the 'perceptual isoglosses' for each region" (Preston 1999b:361, 1986, 1989). After tracing regions from each map, a composite map, Figure 6.2, was produced. A second composite map was drawn, Figure 6.3, which provides a clearer picture of salient regions. This map is based on frequency of identification and is shaded in 10% increments.

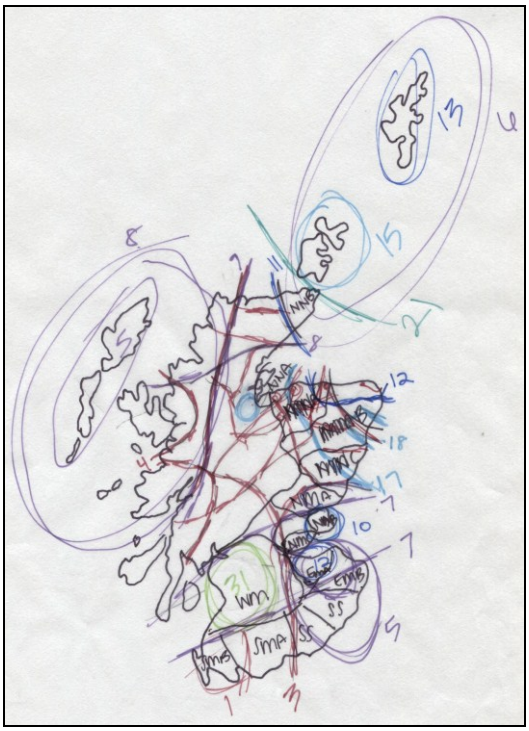

Figure 6.2 Composite map of all demarcations

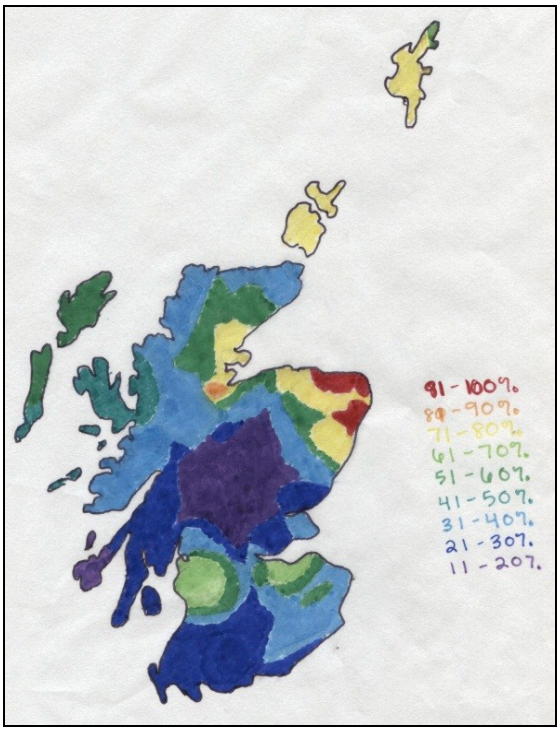

Figure 6.3 Shaded composite map of all demarcations

Figure 6.2 above included the locations of traditional Scots dialects, as described by Johnston (1997:434-449). The respondent maps were compared to Johnston's map of Grant's (1931) classification of Scottish dialects, see Figure 6.4 below. The results and discussion of those comparisons will occur in the proceeding sections of this chapter.

Figure 6.3 identifies dialect regions at various levels of salience for respondents. From the map, a starburst effect of salience can be distinguished, with six regions showing increased frequency of identification: the Northeast, the east Lowlands, Glasgow, the West Coast, the Highlands centred at Inverness, and Orkney and Shetland. A seventh region, centred on eastern

Fife, appears at only 31%-40% agreement. However, the region appears to be centred separately from the other regions and therefore rounds out seven major dialect regions perceived across Scotland. Composite maps of each of the seven regions were drawn, using the same perceptual isogloss method (Preston 1989).[25] The composite maps were divided into perceptual lines of 20% isoglosses, each represented with a different colour (Williams 1985, in Coupland *et al.* 1999:337). Figure 6.4 shows the composite map of all seven regions at 80% agreement. The map is coloured to differentiate each 20% increment, based on responses by the 47 respondents.

Figure 6.4 Composite map of seven regions at 80% agreement. n=47.

[25] It is important to note that the division of the discussion into seven dialect regions is not meant to suggest only seven dialects are perceived across Scotland.

The labels, descriptions and examples from the maps were transcribed and frequencies of community names were collected. The qualitative data were compared with the other regions to better understand the perceived speech regions and the perceived differences in speech between regions. The discussion section shall then reference the labels and descriptions provided by respondents to gain a better understanding of how Scotland's dialect regions are perceived.

Figure 6.5 shows the frequency in which regions and subregions were identified as distinct speech regions by respondents.

Region	Subregions	Frequency	Region total	Percentage
Northeast			46	98%
	Aberdeen	18		
	Northeast general	17		
	Northeast coast	12		
Highlands			42	89%
	Highland general	17		
	Inverness	16		
	Caithness	11		
Northern Isles			34	72%
	Orkney	15		
	Shetland	13		
	O+S	6		
Lowlands			32	68%
	Edinburgh	12		
	Borders	7		
	Lowland Scots	7		
	E+East Borders	5		
	Galloway	1		
Glasgow			31	66%
West Coast			26	55%
	West coast	13		
	WC+OH	8		
	Outer Hebrides	5		
North-Mid			16	34%
	Fife	10		
	Tayside+Angus+Dundee	6		

Figure 6.5 Frequency of identification of dialect regions and subregions. n=47

6.2 Results

6.2.1 Regional composite maps

Reference to traditional Scottish dialects shall be utilised to clarify the results. Drawing on Grant's work on the introduction to the Scottish National Dictionary, Scots can be divided into four dialect groups with subgroups (1931:xxv-xli; see Johnston 1997).

Figure 6.6 Dialect map of Scotland (Johnston 1997:434)

The first group is Insular Scots, which consists of Orcadian (Ia) and Shetlandic (Ib). The second group is Northern Scots, which consists of the North-Northern subgroups: Black Isle (NNa) and Caithness (NNb); the Mid-Northern subgroups: Buchan/Aberdeen (MNa) and Morayshire (MNb); and the South-Northern subgroups: Angus and the Mearns (SN). The third group is Mid Scots, which consists of the West-Mid subgroup: Clydesdale/Glaswegian (WM); the South-Mid subgroup: Gallovidian (SM); and the East-Mid subgroups: Fife/Perthshire (EMa) and Edinburgh

and the Eastern Borders (EMb). The fourth group is Southern Scots, which consists of the Western and Central Borders (SS).[26]

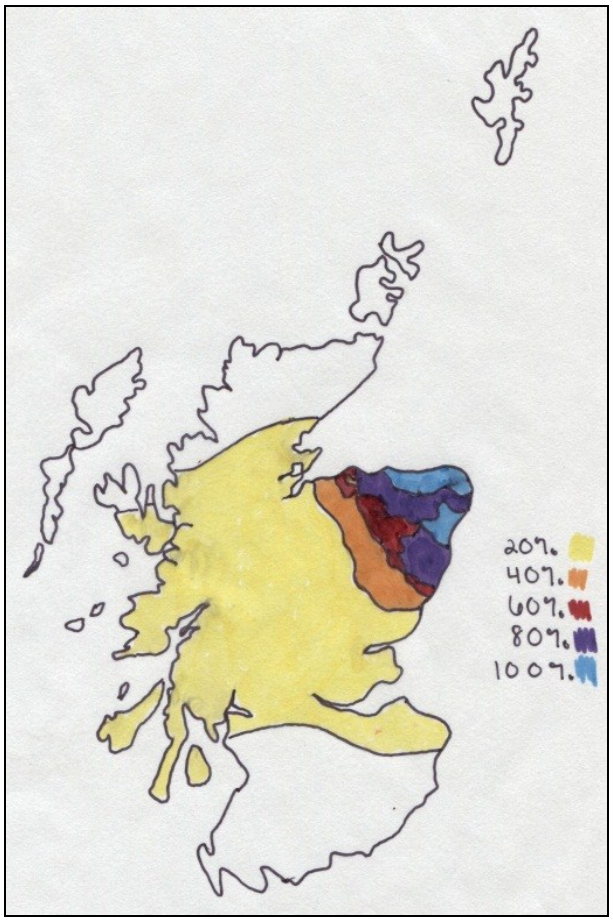

Figure 6.7The Northeast region, n=46

The Northeast region (Figure 6.7) was the most salient and diverse dialect region according to the respondents. Forty-six of the 47 respondents (98%) made mention of the Northeast region in the map-drawing task, and five respondents only labelled the Northeast region on their maps. *Doric* was the most salient dialect title given, which spanned from Aberdeen, northwest toward the Highland Line. Doric reflects the obvious distinctiveness of the peripheral relic dialects found across the Northeast region, which form the basis for the region's linguistically and culturally conservative identity (Millar 2007:116; Johnston 1997:445).

[26] For a more detailed analysis of these dialect regions, see Johnston 1997:440-448.

Two regions centred at Aberdeen and Morayshire were indicated at 81%-100% agreement for respondents. The most diverse region was the Northeast coastline, where Buckie was located. Fourteen maps circled the Morayshire coastline, and three of those maps were comprised of multiple unlabelled circles along the coast: two maps with two circles each and a third map with five circles drawn along the coastline. Without the labels, there was no way to accurately identify which specific dialects were being identified. It was no surprise respondents had the greatest knowledge of local and regional dialect distinctions for the Northeast (Preston 1999a:xxxviv; Montgomery and Beal 2011:144).

The North-Mid region (Figure 6.8), named for its position within the North-Mid Scots dialect region, was the least cohesive region identified. Fifteen respondents (31%) mentioned the Fife and Tayside regions, with 10 of the respondents mentioning Fife and another six respondents mentioning the Tayside region. Four respondents draw lines around each region, separating them from each other, while three other respondents include them both in the same region, one map labelled *Fife* and another labelled *Tayside*/*Angus*. Dundee, Tayside, and Angus were used seemingly interchangeably by respondents, as indicated by multiple maps stating *Angus and Tayside* and *Dundee and Tayside* as dialect regions. Three other respondents labelled the middle of Scotland, northwest of Fife and Tayside as *Scottish* and *country*.

Angus and the Mearns (South-Northern) are included in this section. According to Johnston (1997:445), "[s]ince the South-Northern lies between Dundee and Aberdeen, it is prone to linguistic influence from both cities, but at the moment the Dundonian influence is stronger, so that Mid features tend to be dominant and Northern ones recessive". This is reflected in the perceptual data collected, as Angus never referenced as Northeast speech, but was instead combined with Tayside and Fife.

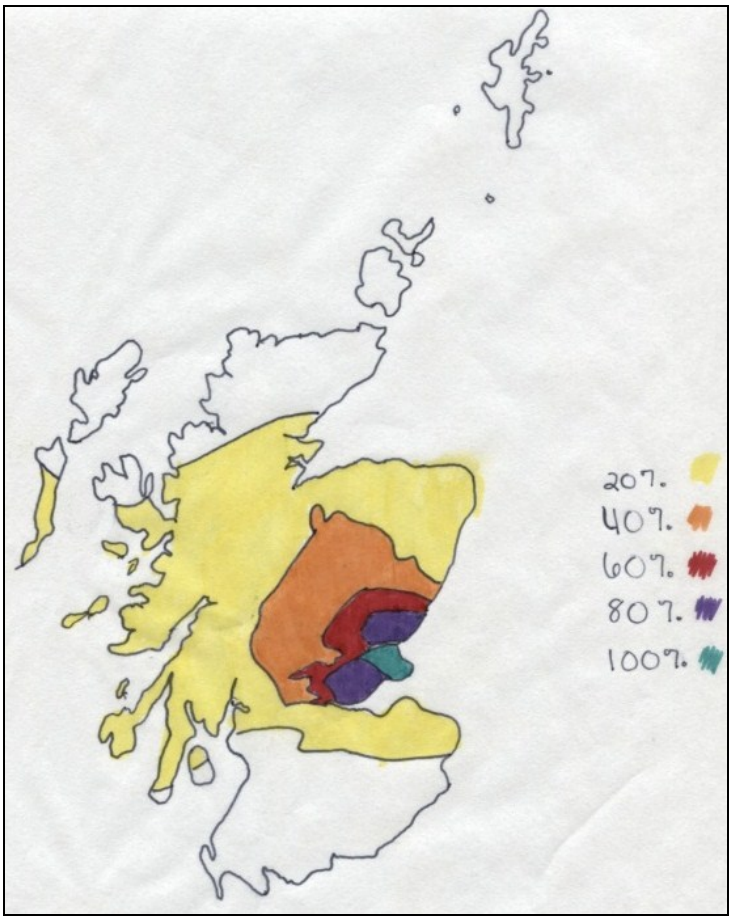

Figure 6.8 The North-Mid region, n=15

To the east and southeast of Glasgow, respondents identified and described Edinburgh and the Borders as two rather similar regions of Lowland Scotland. According to Johnston's (1997:438-441) update to the dialect map of traditional Scots dialects, Lothian and Eastern Border Scots can be divided into new distinctions (East-Mid A and East-Mid B). The Western and Central Borders (Southern) were only referenced on seven maps, with no distinctive labels indicating a dialect difference from the greater Lowland, Edinburgh-influenced region, and are therefore included in the Lowlands region. Galloway was referenced by one respondent, who cut Scotland below the Central Belt into four regions: *West Central*; *East Central*; *Galloway*; and *Borders*.

The Lowlands speech region (Figure 6.9) was mentioned by 32 respondents (68%). At 20% agreement, all of Scotland below the Central Belt was included in the Lowlands region; above 40% agreement, Glasgow (both West-Mid and South-Mid) was excluded from the Lowlands. Seven respondents cut the country just north of Fife across the Central Belt and

labelled the southern region *Lowland Scots*. Seventeen respondents, over 81% of respondents to mention the region, circled Edinburgh as a distinct speech region, while the Borders were mentioned south of Edinburgh on seven other maps.

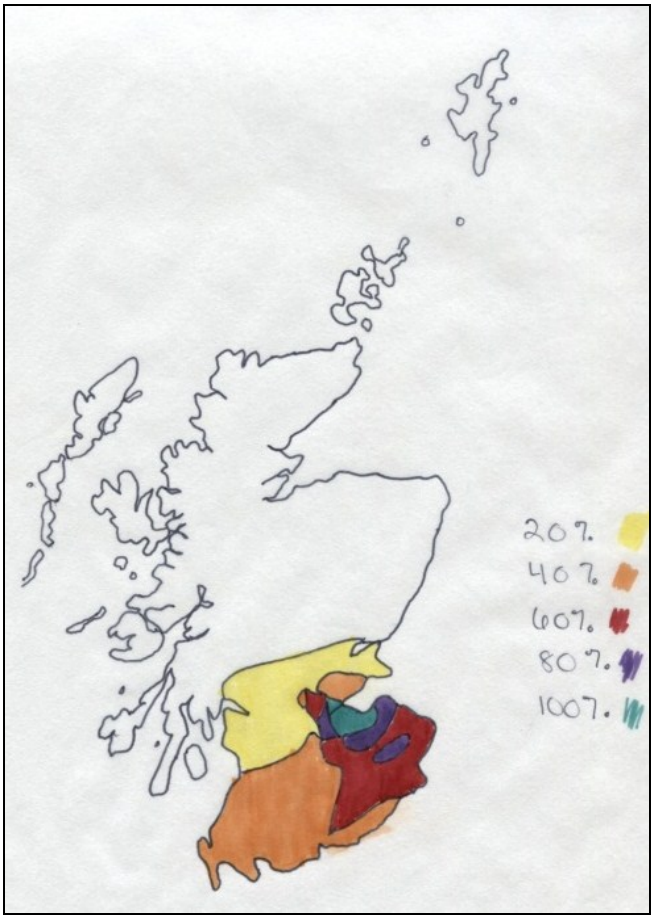

Figure 6.9 The Lowlands region, n=32

The Clydesdale/Glaswegian dialect region (West-Mid) was the most cohesive speech region, with 31 respondents (66%) identifying Glasgow as a single region. The Glasgow region (Figure 6.10) had the least descriptive and geographical variation, and no major subregions appeared. The region contained the highest agreement with 81%-100% of respondents circling *G*. Twenty-four respondents identified the regional dialect as *Glaswegian* or its diminutive form, *Weegie*.

While nine respondents separated the Highlands along the Highland line, combining the northeast and western Highlands, the majority identified two separate regions revealing an interesting divide between a Gaelic-speaking Hebridean and western Highland region, and an

English-speaking region centred at Inverness. Therefore, the two regions will be presented as separate sections: the West Coast region and the Highlands region. Data from the nine combined maps are included in both Highland and West Coast speech sections.

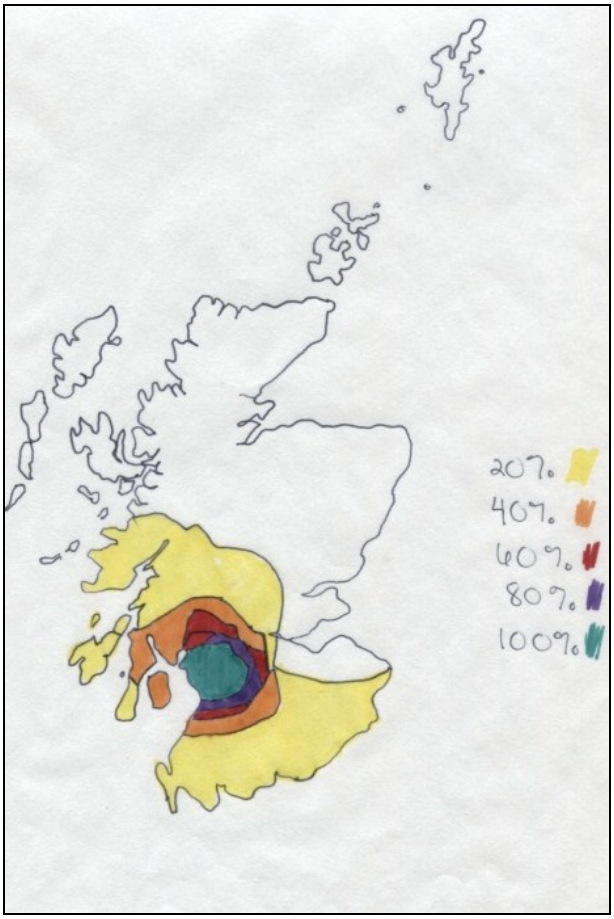

Figure 6.9 The Glasgow region, n=31

"Gaelic is so associated with Scottish cultural identity", and proved to be the defining feature of the West Coast region (Millar 2007:95). Mapped perceptions of a Gaelic-speaking West Coast reflect rather accurately the current location of the small remaining native speakers: "Today native Gaelic-speaking communities are to be found only in the Hebrides and north-west coastal fringes of the Highlands" (MacKinnon 1984:503, 2007; Johnston 2007; see Shuken 1984, 1985).

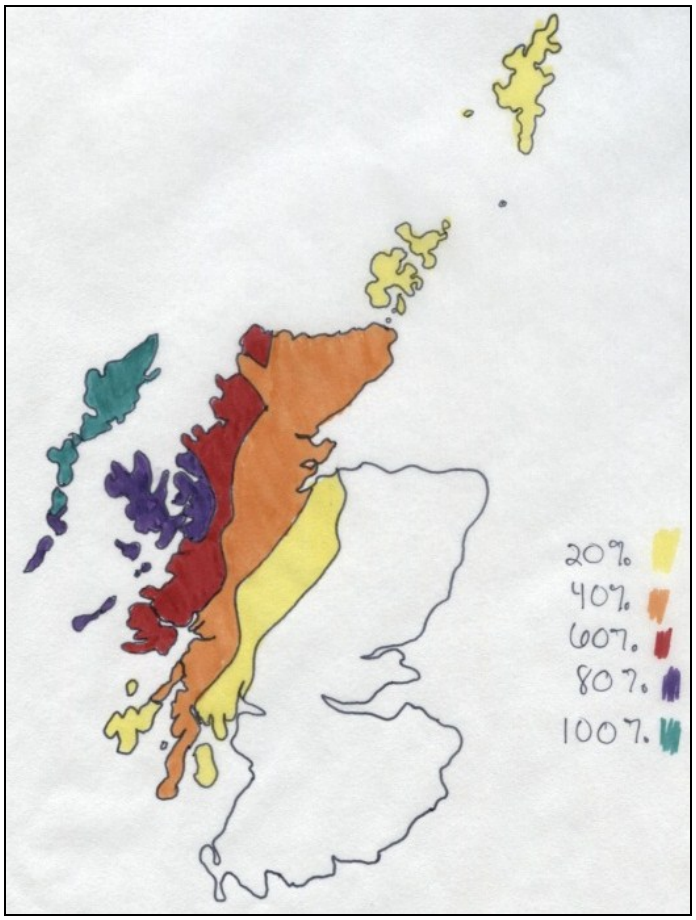

Figure 6.11 The West Coast region, n=26

The West Coast region (Figure 6.10) was mentioned by 26 respondents (55%), with *Gaelic* being the defining feature of the region's speech. The Outer Hebrides were the most frequently mentioned of the region, identified on 13 maps; five of those maps combining the Outer Hebrides and the mainland West Coast around Skye. The mainland West Coast and Skye were mentioned by nine maps total. At under 20% agreement, Arran through the Cairngorms and Orkney and Shetland were included.

Highland speech (Figure 6.11) was remarked upon by 42 respondents (89%) as a distinct speech region. Sixteen respondents focused on Inverness, the major city within the Highland region. At 81%-100% agreement, a small circle identified Inverness. A combination of Gaelic and English described the speech of this region. Six respondents drew a line across the Highland line, listing the Highlands as a general speech area above it.

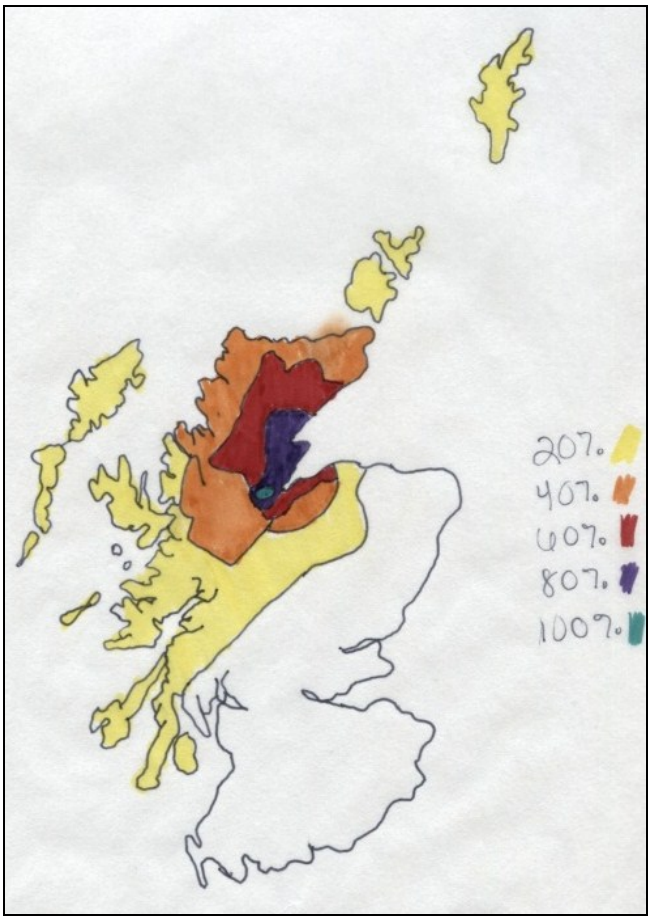

Figure 6.12 The Highlands region, n=42

Caithness has been included in the Highland section. Traditionally, Caithness is a Doric-speaking region. However, the region was often absorbed into the general Highlands region for the maps activity. Only 11 respondents indicated Caithness as a separate dialect region from the rest of the Highlands. The traditional dialect region is not represented as a contiguous section, as Caithnesian and Black Isle dialects exist as "'pockets' of Scots speech in a largely Gaelic-speaking area" (Millar 2007:4).

The Insular Scots dialect regions, Orkney (Insular A) and Shetland (Insular B), were separated from the mainland by 34 respondents (72%) and formed the Northern Isles dialect region (Figure 6.12). Six respondents circled both of the islands together, with one respondent labelling the region *Norse*. On two of those six maps, the region was labelled *Gaelic*. One respondent also labelled Orkney as Stornoway.

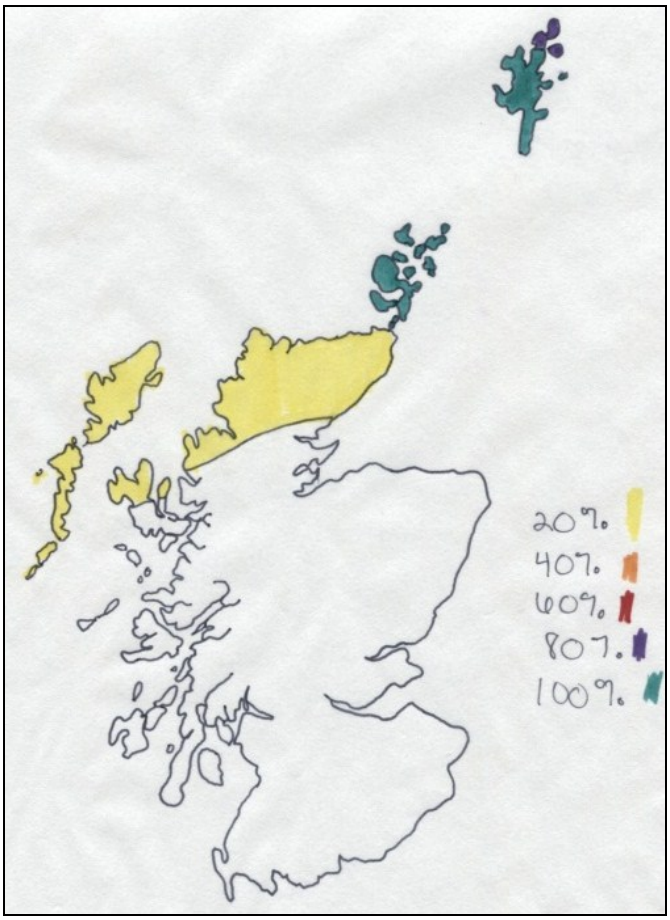

Figure 6.13 The Northern Isles region, n=34

This also occurred on another map of Shetland, where a line was drawn across the page separating the Outer Hebrides and Shetland as *Gaelic*. Thirteen maps labelled Shetland as a dialect region. Orkney was indicated as a distinct dialect region on 15 maps. Less than 20% of respondents included the Outer Hebrides and the northern Highlands in the Northern Isles region. The foreign quality of speech and culture seems to have led to confusion with the Western Isles; their shared connection to non-Scottish English linguistic influence also impacted perceptions in the scales activity.

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 The Northeast region

The labels for the Northeast region (Figure 6.14) identified the many Doric dialects as *broad* and *quick spoken*, and the speech was regarded as having its *own twang/dialect/accent.* I was

surprised to find one respondent refer to the speech as having *slang thrown in*, as the northeast is a traditionally Good Scots speech region.

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
NORTHEAST	a lot of slang thrown in	*ach aye the noo*
	many different dialects along the coast	*aye [yes]*
	own accent	*aye aye fit like?*
	quick spoken	*dinna kane*
	separate vocabulary	*far [where]*
	similar to northeast England speech, e.g. Newcastle	*fit like? [how are you?] (5)*
	speakers should be able to pronounce some German words more or less accurately	*fuu*
		git [get]
		heste ye on [hurry up]
		hing in [hurry up]
		licht
		loon [boy] (2)
		mither [mother]
		nae bad
		quine [girl] (2)
		themorn [tomorrow]
		thegither [together]
		wifie [lady]
ABERDEEN	couthy words	*ers ma*
	farming dialect	*fit like?*
	has own twang	*grunny [granny]*
	more country	*panny [cheap]*
	similar to Buckie	*pint [paint]*
	speak very farmerish	*rowie [bread roll]*
	teuchter	*spik aboot the toon*
TORRY	broad accent	*Torry quine*
	noticeably different	

Figure 6.14 Terms associated with Northeast speech: Aberdeen

Cultural prominence of Doric, geographical proximity and extensive local knowledge, as well as relic Scots vernacular with a separate vocabulary and a conservative phonology could all account for the fact that the northeast region contained the most examples of speech of any of the regions.[27] Most of the examples reflected Doric shibboleths, such as *fit like* and *aye*. Some of the

[27] In their broadest forms, the speech is often unintelligible to speakers from outside Scotland (Millar 2007:1).

examples included words only found in the region, traditional Scots vocabulary, which has survived in the rural, secluded Northeast far longer than many other traditional dialects across Scotland, such as *quine*, *loon*, and *thegither*. Other examples noted particular phonetic qualities salient to the Northeast region, such as the diminutive -/i/, which one respondent wrote *every word seems to have 'ee' added to the end* and was backed up by the examples *hoosie* and *chiminey* (Hopeman), *santi clas* (Peterhead), *rowie* (Aberdeen), and *wifie* (general). The consonant /x/ is still found along the Northeast coast, noted by one respondent in the example *licht* and by another with the comment: *speakers should be able to pronounce some German words more or less accurately.* Examples such as *fit* and *far* demonstrate the 'wh' cluster /f/, a Shibboleth of Doric speech, which is also found along the Northeast coast, especially around Buckie. The knowledge of the myriad local variation was apparent. Respondents were able to distinguish that in Elgin, just a few miles inland, *wit* is used instead of *fit* for the word *what*.

The most remarked upon region was Aberdeen, which is considered the second biggest sphere of influence in Scotland (Johnston 1997:445). Aberdeen is an urban and industrial city, with its own ESSE and urban dialects, and contains the main northeast seaport (Johnston 1997:446; Millar 2007:8-9). One respondent remarked Aberdonians *spik aboot the toon*, a reference to the urban toonser culture (McGarrity 1998:147). The Torry region of Aberdeen was pulled out as a distinctly *broad* form of Aberdonian speech, with reference made to *Torry quines*. Interestingly, perceptions of Aberdeen centred on its agricultural roots. More than half of the comments made about Aberdeen reflected farming culture, referring to the speech as *couthy*, *farming dialect*, *very farmerish*, *more country*, and *teuchter*. Two different types of communities are described in the literature for the Northeast: the coastal fishing culture and the insular agricultural culture (McClure 2002; Johnston 1997:446). With respondents residing in a historic fishing town, this separate identity for farming culture was the salient cultural reference for Aberdeen speech.

NORTHEAST	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
BANFF	varying aspects of Doric: word use, sound	*coties [sandshoes]* *fit like?*
BUCKIE	broad accent local fisher dialect handed down the ages spot on good	
BUCHAN		*puel [seagull]*
ELGIN		*graas [grass]* *heid [head]* *wit [what]*
FINDOCHTY	accent is different to mine one mile down the coast broader speak slower	
HOPEMAN	every word seems to have 'ee' added to the end	*chiminey [chimney]* *hoosie [house]*
PETERHEAD	very broad	*fit like?* *santi clas [santa claus]*

Figure 6.15 Terms associated with Northeast speech: Northeast Coast

The second region was the East Coast (Figure 6.15), where Buckie is located. This was considered *broad* and *spot on good* by respondents and held the most detailed descriptions of speech. Buckie itself did not produce many descriptions, which I found surprising, which could reflect the fact that it is not Buckie specifically, but the entire *Doric*-speaking Northeast region, which reflects cultural salience. According to one respondent, there are *many different dialects along the coast.* Most of the comments of this region revolved around local vocabulary and knowledge of the immense local variation, as "many speakers see their dialects as being unique, even at a very local level" (Millar 2007:1). Three respondents commented on the speech in Findochty, a town one mile down the road, which was described as *broader* and *slower* than Buckie speech. Some other examples reflected specific communities' unique fishing vocabularies, such as *puel [seagull]* (Buchan) and *coties [sandshoes]* (Banff).

6.3.2 The North-Mid region

The North-Mid region was the least cohesive region identified, and it also produced the fewest descriptions and examples. The lack of examples indicates the region did not appear to hold cultural salience for the respondents. Dialects from these regions do not appear to be widely broadcast in the media nor are they geographically close enough for Buckie residents to encounter frequently.

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
DUNDEE	unique accent	
FIFE	sing-song accent	*aright neebour* *brawday eh?*
TAYSIDE		*a'y'll hae a pae*

Figure 6.16 Terms associated with North-Mid speech

The region consisted primarily of Fife and Tayside, which had rated beside one another on all five of the scales. Few descriptions were produced for the speech of this region. The large number of similarities in lexicon and phonology to the surrounding regions (Johnston 1997:441) and the region's internal diversity and variability due to its transition zone status (Trudgill 1986:52-62) could have impacted respondents' inability to distinguish dialect features salient to this area. Dundee speech was regarded as *unique* and the prosodic quality of speech for Fife was mentioned by one respondent as *sing-song*. The lack of description of Fife was surprising, as throughout the scales section interviews, respondents often commented aloud regarding the Fife dialect, yet few actually described it on the map-drawing task.

6.3.3 The Lowlands region

While the scales data separated the Borders and Edinburgh into separate speech regions, the qualitative data brought this region together. The dialect was most frequently labelled *Lowland Scots*, and reflected perceptions of English influence (Figure 6.17).

REGION	DESCRIPTION	*EXAMPLES*
GENERAL	a bit more like English	
	a slight Glaswegian twinge but spoken more properly	
	better words used	
	predominantly English vocabulary with an accent and some different vocabulary and intonation	
	Scots not spoken so much around the areas close to England	
BORDERS	probably influenced by Northern English speech	
	proper	
EDINBURGH	clear Scottish	*hen [term of endearment to a woman]*
	clearer Scots tongue	
	more English sounding	
	more English spoken	
	posh	
	posh Scottish	
	posher Scots	
	quite posh	
	proper (2)	
	rather standoffish	
	softer	
	varied: 'well-to-do' areas (Morningside) to housing estates and social housing	

Figure 6.17 Terms associated with Lowlands speech

Edinburgh speech dominated the commentary for the Lowland region. Edinburgh speech was considered *posh* (4), *proper (2)*, *clear (2)* and *soft*, reflecting the refined Edinburgh standard. Not many Scotticisms were perceived as salient to the Edinburgh region; only one example was listed: *hen [term of endearment to a woman]*. Edinburgh speech was also considered *standoffish*, which may have to do with its poshness and its cultural relevance as the cultured 'Athens of the North' (Corbett *et al.* 2003; Aitken 1979).

The geographic proximity to England had a prominent impact on perceptions of Lowland speech. The most commonly referred to quality within the data was the influence of *English* on the speech. Six separate references were made to *English* and to *England*. Two respondents commented on the 'anglicised' quality of Edinburgh speech, and the vocabulary was considered to use *better words* and to be *predominantly English vocabulary with an accent and some different vocabulary and intonation.*

Not a single reference was made to broad Borders Scots, which I believe was due to geographical proximity overshadowing any cultural salience of broad Border Scots. Respondents seemed unfamiliar with the Borders region.

> Central Borderers (Johnston 1980:39) have a pride in their towns still reinforced by rugby loyalties and old festivals based historically on guarding of the town limits, and a pride in their local vernacular that goes with the territory. The dialect is felt to be 'Hawick' or 'Selkirk' or 'Jedburgh' more than it is perceived to be Scots, which is more likely to refer to the traditional language of Burns. Borderers regard it even more as a coherent system than speakers in the most peripheral Mid Scots localities do. (Johnston 1997:444)

Comments such as *Scots not spoken so much around the areas close to England* support this claim. One respondent commented that Borders speech was *probably influenced by Northern English speech*. The English/Scottish Border has a large collection of isoglosses across it, with many of the 'general northern' features extending far south of the Border (Aitken 1984a:111). The perceptions appear to be based solely on the geographical proximity to England, and not on any knowledge of the dialects, traditionally rural and described as rather culturally similar to the northeast (Johnston 1997).

6.3.4 The Glasgow region

The majority of comments in Figure 6.18 reflect Glasgow's cultural salience as a rough industrial city. *Slang* was the most frequent descriptor of the speech, which fits with the perceptions of Bad Scots and Vulgarisms found in urban centres, such as Glasgow (Aitken 1984a:108, 1984b; Macafee 1997) as well as with previously found data on Glasgow (Macaulay and Trevelyan 1977; Macafee 1994, 1983; Stuart-Smith 1999). Glaswegian was also referred to as *hard*, *broad*, *heavy*, and *not so nice*. Not all comments were negative: one respondent referred to the speech as *very friendly* and another claimed it was *easy to listen to*. This reflects the solidarity found in Scottish urban communities, and Glasgow culture in particular (Trudgill 1974; Macafee 1994; Macaulay and Trevelyan 1977).

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
BEARSDEN	posh Scottish English	
GLASGOW	a lot of slang (3)	*a rerr day at ra ferr*
	all very hard accent	*aright doll?*
	broad accent	*arit an at*
	easy to listen to	*gonnae do that*
	heavy accent	*gonnae no dae that (2)*
	not so nice (2)	*got some bucky min*
	very friendly	
STRATHCLYDE	accent probably influenced by West Coast Highlanders and Irish immigrants arriving for work	

Figure 6.18 Terms associated with Glasgow speech

One respondent described its accent as *probably influenced by West Coast Highlanders and Irish immigrants arriving for work*. The examples showed knowledge of traditional Scots features still used in Glasgow, such as the Scots negation clitic –nae, though two respondents also provided the example gonnae no dae that, showing the clitic and double negation. Innovative, non-native features recently entering the vocabulary are also included, such as l-vocalisations in *aright doll?* and *arit n at* (Stuart-Smith 2003 and *et al.* 2006, 2007; Maguire 2012).

6.3.4.1 The urban Central Belt

Some perceptions reflected a general Central Belt culture, such as urban social stratification. Scottish sociolinguistic research has focused on Glasgow and Edinburgh speech, which both reflect patterns of urban speech innovations correlating with social class, among other factors (see Macafee 1997; Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2006, 2007). Social stratification within Edinburgh was mentioned as: *varied: 'well-to-do' areas (Morningside) to housing estates and social housing*. While most Glasgow labels described urban working-class vernacular, one reference was made to Bearsden, an upper-middle-class part, which was labelled *posh Scottish English*.

Morningside and Kelvinside dialects the affected hybrid speech forms based on hypercorrected RP were mentioned for Edinburgh (Johnston 1985, 1997:109; Aitken 1984a:109).

Although now dying out, the cultural stereotype of middle-class Edinburgh and Glasgow residents hypercorrecting RP remains a salient aspect of Central Belt speech.[28]

Stereotypes of Edinburgh and Glasgow reflect a split perception of Central Belt culture, which was depicted in comments of speech: standoffish Edinburgh vs. friendly Glaswegian. One respondent provided the example: *Glasgow: come in for your tea! Edinburgh: you'll have had your tea.* Perhaps the friendliness of broad Glaswegian provided for a warmer reception compared to the cold reception of English-influenced Edinburgh. Overall, Glasgow appears to be the more salient speech region for southern Scotland, with Edinburgh depicting a more reformed and anglicised version. One respondent mentioned Lowlands speech as *a slight Glaswegian twinge but spoken more properly*.

6.3.5 The West Coast region

While the English dialects within the Hebrides are similar to those in the Highlands (HHE), respondents separated the region based on its culturally salient Gaelic minority-speakers (Ó Baoill 1997; Shuken 1984). The West Coast and Hebrides regions of Scotland were overwhelmingly described as Gaelic, with 22 respondents listing that language as the salient linguistic and cultural feature of the region. Knowledge of the quickly receding Gaelic-speaking population was mentioned by one respondent: *Gaelic [is] not spoken much anymore as a first language* (Clement 1984:318; MacKinnon 2007, 1984).

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
OUTER HEBRIDES	beautiful, gentle way of speaking	
WEST COAST	Gaelic not spoken much anymore as a first language heavy accent	*right enuff Charlie*

Figure 6.19 Terms associated with West Coast speech

Little was known about the Scottish English varieties replacing Gaelic in this region. The accent of the region was called *heavy*, and the Outer Hebrides dialect was considered *beautiful* and

[28] Also considered Bad Scots are the hybrid dialect forms Morningside and Kelvinside. These dialects rose to prominence in the twentieth century as a middle-class Scottish response in Edinburgh and Glasgow middle-class communities to RP (Johnston 1985). Through poor attempts at RP imitations, the stereotype accent hypercorrected and hyperadjusted SSE towards aspects of RP-like realizations. These dialects were not well received, as they tended to indicate a speaker's pretentiousness and affectation (Aitken 1984a).

gentle, which was the one reference to HHE found in the maps. The example *right enuff Charlie* could be an English English imitation, though I cannot be sure.

6.3.6 The Highlands region

While not as frequently as the West Coast region, Gaelic was used to describe the region by 10 respondents. The prosodic quality of the *lilt* dominated the descriptions of Highland speech, appearing six times. No negative qualities were found in the Highland speech descriptions. The speech was considered *soft*, *slow*, and *lilting* positive qualities.

Gaelic influence on speech may be responsible for the singing intonation, or lilt, found in the Highlands and Islands, and even Orkney (van Leyden 2004; Shuken 1984:155-165). Respondents commented on the lilt found in Highland speech, finding this prosodic quality to be particularly appealing:

> I'm swayed by a lilt! (1F12)
>
> I find Island accents particularly attractive, especially vocabulary (1M6)
>
> The stronger the dialect from the Highlands and Isles are very pleasant (2F5)
>
> I love the lilt of the natures from the Western Isles (2F7)
>
> I've given some perhaps a higher score than I should have because of the lilt (Islands) (2M6)

Highland was rated as the most pleasant and the most correct speech in Scotland, and the maps data pinpoints the specific region of perceived prestigious variety: Invernesian. Highland speech appears to be centred on Inverness, the capitol of the region. Inverness was remarked upon as having the *best speakers, lovely, really nice clear speakers,* and as being *said to be pure English*. Highlanders learning SSE as an L2 variety has been documented to account for the positive qualities associated with Invernesian speech:

> Gaelic has left behind an identifiable phonetic influence on the English of the Highlands and Islands, even in areas where it has disappeared as a spoken language. This 'post-Gaelic' English is also noticeably 'correct', having as it does no Scots substratum. Hence the received wisdom that the purest English is spoken in Inverness; in Inverness, Scots has never been in general use, since there Gaelic was displaced directly by Standard English (Wells 1982:395)

The one example, *rubber bumpers,* was mentioned by two respondents. This refers to the fact that the /r/ is realised as an alveolar approximant in the Highland region, according to respondents, as opposed to an alveolar trill. This may sound more English to respondents, as opposed to the alveolar trill traditionally found in rural Scots dialects (Wells 1982).

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
HIGHLAND	Gaelic not spoken much anymore as a first language	
	better pronunciation	
	drop the letter 't' a lot	
	Highland twang	
	lilting sound	
	lilting speech	
	soft and lilting	
	slower spoken	
	very lilting accent here	
INVERNESS	best speakers	*rubber bumpers (2)*
	Invernesian lilt	
	lovely clear speakers	
	really nice clear speakers	
	said to be pure English	
	soft and lilting	
NAIRN	best speakers	
CAITHNESS	drawn out vowels	
	on its own accent	
	lilt different from Highlanders	

Figure 6.20 Terms associated with Highlands speech

6.3.6.1 Caithness

While included in the Highlands region section, Caithness speech was considered a separate variety to the rest of the Highlands. No speech examples were given, but the dialect was defined as having *drawn out vowels*, and a *lilt different from Highlanders*. Respondents seemed unsure how to characterise the region. The dialect was referred to as *Gaelic*, *Doric*, *Scottish English,* and as *lilting.* Although located near the respondents, Black Isle speech was not referenced at all in the maps, which suggests the dialect is likely being replaced by the surrounding Invernesian speech (Johnston 1997:446-7; Millar 2007:121).

6.3.7 The Northern Isles region

The cultural salience of the Scandinavian element in Orkney and Shetland speech has been documented to exist "possibly because, in a post-Romantic Scotland, it is this feature, above all else, which expresses the difference between the Northern Isles and the Scottish mainland" (Millar 2007:132). For these regions, the influence was Scandinavian. Norn, a language now dead, had once been spoken on both Orkney and Shetland, spoken on Shetland until the eighteenth century and served as a major linguistic influence for Northern Isles speech (Barnes 1984:355; MacKinnon 2007:200). This accounts for the descriptions of Shetland almost entirely reflecting Norse, and less so for Orkney, which had a much stronger mainland Scotland connection to Caithness (Millar 2007:11). The two regions are considered to be the "best examples of a relic speech form in Scotland" (Johnston 1997:447). Combined, both regions were circled as *Norse* and described as having *proper but heavy* accents.

REGION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLES
NORTHERN ISLES	Gaelic (4) proper but heavy accent Norse	
ORKNEY	have a different way of talking very sing-song like	*fars da peerie shop* *Peedie [little, small] (4)*
SHETLAND	accent could have been influenced by Norse cross between Gaelic and Norse distinct Norse words it's as close to Norway as it is to Scotland long vowel sounds many place names are Viking-based Norn still obvious here Norway influenced sounds rather like a South Wales accent very broad very distinct dialect	*hand me doon da fiddle* *using 'da' instead of 'the'*

Figure 6.21 Terms associated with Northern Isles speech

'Peerie', the Shibboleth for Orcadian speech was mentioned five times. The intonation of Orkney speech was the salient factor: one respondent claimed they *have a different way of*

talking. Van Leyden (2004) hypothesises a Gaelic influence may be responsible for this prosodic *sing-song like* quality of Orcadian speech.

For Shetland, the most referred to aspect was its Norwegian and Norn past. Eight respondents referenced it. Respondents also commented on Shetland speech as being *distinct*, *broad*, and having l*ong vowel sounds.* The loss of /thorn/ in Norn is generally thought to account for the use of /d/ and /t/ for *eth* and *thorn* in Shetlandic speech (Barnes 1984:363). Respondents acknowledged this peculiar Norn relic in Shetland: *using 'da' for 'the'* and *hand me doon da fiddle*.

6.4 Maps summary

The particularly salient regions included the broad and varying Northeast, the stigmatised Glaswegian, the lovely Inverness, and the posh Edinburgh. The maps data demonstrated an overall awareness of local areas by referencing the extreme variation across the Northeast. The data narrowed the prestige form of Highland speech to the Inverness region, which held the most positive ratings for respondents. There was no salience and knowledge of the Borders, which was considered English, and the North-Mid section held hardly any cultural salience for respondents. Once again, the most salient aspect of the West Coast and the Northern Isles was foreignness.

7. Conclusions, evaluations and recommendations for future research

This concluding chapter will address key findings from the study. It will also look at factors affecting perceptions in Scotland, namely cultural salience, geographic proximity, and the changing Scots identity. The chapter will then reflect on strengths and weaknesses of the study, and finally, will present recommendations for future study.

7.1 Conclusions

The respondents perceived seven major dialect regions across Scotland: the Northern Isles, Northeast, Glasgow, North-Mid, West Coast, Highlands, and Lowlands. All of these regions can be subdivided to include myriad subdivisions. The more prominent ones include Shetland, Orkney, Aberdeen, Morayshire coast, Caithness, Fife, Angus, Dundee, the Outer Hebrides, Inverness, Edinburgh, and the Borders.

Each of the activities presented a multifaceted picture of attitudes toward Scottish language. Though Scots is currently believed to be spoken throughout Scotland, it was not perceived to be a separate language. Rather, each variety spoken in Scotland was considered to be a Scottish variety, reflecting more on the issue of a Scots identity than a separate language. While there was no region considered not Scottish, the southern regions, particularly near the Scottish/English Border, were considered less Scottish than the rest of Scotland.

The data reveal linguistic insecurity for the respondents. They do not speak the standard variety, and report constant accommodation to incomers, which they believe to be threatening the local dialect. The prestige variety to respondents was Invernesian speech, which received the highest rating in the scales sections for correctness and pleasantness, and rated highly in similarity and Scottishness. The hypothesised and predicted response was Edinburgh, which, despite rating highly for correctness and pleasantness, lacked Scottishness due to its proximity to England and perceived English English influence. As demonstrated by recent studies in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith *et al.* 2007), middle-class respondents are adopting a Scottish standard speech model and the working class is innovating away from it. Scotland could be moving toward a linguistically independent prestige model, which for these respondents was Inverness Scottish English. Respondents therefore demonstrate ingroup solidarity in choosing a Scottish-sounding model rather than supporting influences from south of the Border.

Two important factors reported by Montgomery (2006) are also revealed to impact perceptions in the current study: cultural salience and geographic proximity. Culturally salient regions, those that are intimately known by respondents and those that are stigmatised, were more frequently identified by respondents. Respondents also tended to have stronger opinions and more knowledge about them. Glasgow, the stigmatised variety, was perhaps the most culturally salient region outside of the respondent's immediate location. It was one of the most frequently identified regions, was considered the least pleasant and among the least correct, and garnered mostly negative comments. This is perhaps in reference to the wider Scottish cultural perception of Glaswegian as Bad Scots.

The 'foreignness' of Orkney, Shetland, and the Western Isles was another culturally salient factor influencing perceptions. The three regions were known for their foreign languages: Norn and Gaelic, which led to similar ratings on all five scales, as well as confusion between the regions. Despite the fact that Gaelic and Norn bore no similarity, linguistically or otherwise, their shared 'foreignness' impacted perceptions and brought the regions together.

Lack of salience was another interesting finding. Regions such as Central, Dumfries and Galloway, and Tayside rated neutrally on most of the scales, and were rarely commented upon in the maps activity. They were therefore not very influential toward respondents' speech nor did respondents seem to know or have attitudes regarding them.

Geographic proximity was also an important factor discovered in the data. There was an intimate and extensive knowledge of the surrounding regions, particularly in the Northeast. Respondents listed the most examples on the maps and in the Scots sections and the widest range of variation for the region they were most familiar with. Respondents also demonstrated a lack of knowledge about southern Scotland, particularly the Borders region. This was an unexpected and intriguing finding. The geographic distance led to respondents having no intimate knowledge of the region and limited connections with it. There was also a false perception of the Borders' geographic proximity to England being heavily influential on their speech.

7.2 Evaluations

While much of the study went smoothly, there were some aspects which could have used refinement. Below are some of the methods which could be handled differently for future reference.

The decision to diverge from the standard one-to-four rating for the degree-of-difference scale was based on keeping all five scale ratings consistent. Were I to repeat the study, I would return to the original format suggested by Preston (1989; 1999).The phrasing I employed on the degree-of-difference scale could have influenced the results. Instead of rating for similarity to or difference from their own speech, respondents could have interpreted the scale to indicate speech comprehensibility. Respondents may have found Highland and Lothian speech easier to comprehend than other regions of Scotland due to their more prestigious dialects with fewer Scotticisms, therefore awarding them higher ratings.

The issue of correctness, which arose in the scales activity may be increasing in sensitivity. In previously conducted surveys, correctness had not been an issue (Preston 1993; Hartley 1999). In the current study, 16 of the 20 respondents to refuse were in the younger two age groups, while 10 of those respondents were under the age of 40. Sensitivity to standard/non-standard linguistic varieties found throughout the United Kingdom may also have impacted perceptions (Trudgill 1974).

Hand-drawn maps are a long and exhausting process. Were I to repeat this study, I would attempt to create a computerised system of inputting hand-drawn maps data, such as those recommended by Preston (1999), Long (2002), and Montgomery (2006).

While the 12 regions provided a reasonable method of assessing speech regions, the regions were not as distinguishing as they could have been. I believe I lost perceptions of regions like Caithness due to the geographical grouping of regions.

Due to time and word count constraints, one aspect of the scales data has been left out of the dissertation. On four of the scales: correctness, pleasantness, broadness, and Scottishness, a thirteenth region: respondents' speech, was also rated. While the data correlated with Grampian region, I made the decision to exclude this data. However, further research into the study of respondents' self dialect identification would prove a fascinating venture.

Despite those issues, the study was successful in gathering perceptions of Scottish dialects and introducing new scales ratings, salient for Scotland. The addition of the scales ratings for Scottishness and broadness enhanced the study by providing culturally relevant data. Had the scale for Scottishness not been utilised, it may have been more complicated to understand the perceptions of Invernesian speech.

7.3 Recommendations for future research

The field of perceptual dialectology is still very young. There is definitely room for more extensive studies of folk perceptions within Scotland. A larger study, covering more locations, and examining a variety of Scottish communities is recommended. It would be fascinating to collect language attitude data in Inverness and Edinburgh (regions rated highly in prestige) to see if they have linguistic security in their own speech forms or if they turn to a southern English speech model. Overall, the study was overall successful in performing an initial perceptual dialectology study of Scotland. The study revealed a Scottish prestige model of speech, Invernesian; identified salient Scottish speech regions; and confirmed the impact of cultural salience and geographic proximity on perceptions.

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A1. Questionnaire

Information Form – for you to keep!

My name is Sydney Tichenor, and I am a postgraduate student in Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh. I am currently carrying out a survey regarding native languages in Scotland. With the inclusion of Scots Language (in addition to English, Scottish Gaelic and British Sign Language) in the most recent Scotland census, I am interested in understanding more about what people in Scotland think about Scotland's languages.

The survey is in the form of a brief questionnaire, which takes no longer than 10-15 minutes to complete. The questionnaire is in a written format, consisting of short answer and fill in the blank questions, as well as map drawing tasks and a scale section.

In order to take part in the survey, you must be a native Scots or Scottish English speaker. You should be between 40 and 60 years old, and you must have been raised and be currently working in the area where the survey is conducted.

The questionnaire will be kept securely, and used solely for research purposes. Complete confidentiality will be respected at all times. Please feel free to get in touch with me with any questions or concerns you have about this survey.

Thank you for your time!

Sydney Tichenor
School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences
University of Edinburgh
Dugald Stewart Building
3 Charles Street
Edinburgh EH8 9AD

Consent Form – please sign and return to the researcher!

I have read this consent form and the information sheet and I had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this survey and a decision not to participate will not be a problem.
I understand that I have the right to withdraw from answering the questionnaire at any stage.
I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and that any personal details and beliefs I include in this questionnaire will be used for research purposes only.

❑ I agree to participate in this survey.

Name_____

Signature_____

Date_____

Signature of Researcher_____

What is your first name?

_____

Please circle your gender:

M F

How old are you?

_____

What is your occupation?

_____

What is the highest level of education you completed?

_____

Were you raised in Buckie?

_____

How many years have you lived away from Buckie? Where did you live?

_____

Where are your parents/guardians from?

_____

Please circle the most appropriate type of community you live in:

A city A village A suburb The countryside

How far (in miles) do you commute to work?

_____

How often do you travel outside of Buckie?

_____

Below is a map of Scotland. Glasgow [G], Edinburgh [E], and Aberdeen [A] have been included to help you with geography. **Please draw lines around dialect areas in Scotland.** Please **label** each area and **describe the speech/provide examples** of the speech in each area you label:

What language(s) are spoken in Scotland?

What language(s) do you speak?

Are there people in your community that speak or sound differently from you? If so, who? What are the differences?

What is Scots? Please describe it to the best of your ability and provide examples of it if possible.

Do people in Scotland currently speak Scots? If so, who speaks it?

Do you speak Scots? If so, when would you speak it? Where would you speak it? Who would you speak it with?

Do people outside of Scotland speak Scots? If so, where?

Whether or not you believe Scots is spoken today, was there ever a time when Scots was spoken in Scotland? If so, when?

Any additional comments?

Below is a map of Scotland. Glasgow [G], Edinburgh [E], and Aberdeen [A] have been included to help you with geography. **Please draw lines around where Scots is spoken**. Please **label** and **provide examples and descriptions** for each area. If you do not believe Scots is spoken, please leave the map blank.

Below is a list of areas in Scotland based on government regions. Please circle the number that you believe best indicates **how different** the speech of each region is from your own:

The Borders						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Central, including Stirling, Falkirk, Clackmannanshire						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Dumfries and Galloway						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Fife						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Grampian, including Aberdeenshire, Moray						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Highland, including Inverness, Caithness						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	
Lothian, including Edinburgh						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Orkney

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Shetland

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Strathclyde, including Glasgow, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Argyll, Bute

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Tayside, including Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Angus

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Western Isles

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Impossible to comprehend				Sounds just like you	

Any comments?

_____

_____

Below is a list of areas in Scotland based on government regions. Please circle the number that you believe best indicates **how correct** the speech of each region is:

What you speak

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

The Borders

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Central, including Stirling, Falkirk, Clackmannanshire

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Dumfries and Galloway

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Fife

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Grampian, including Aberdeenshire, Moray

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Highland, including Inverness, Caithness

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Lothian, including Edinburgh

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Orkney

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Shetland

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Strathclyde, including Glasgow, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Argyll, Bute

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Tayside, including Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Angus

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Western Isles

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Least correct Most correct

Any comments?

_____

_____

Below is a list of areas in Scotland based on government regions. Please circle the number that you believe best indicates **how pleasant** the speech of each region is:

What you speak						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
The Borders						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
Central, including Stirling, Falkirk, Clackmannanshire						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
Dumfries and Galloway						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
Fife						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
Grampian, including Aberdeenshire, Moray						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant
Highland, including Inverness, Caithness						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Least pleasant						Most pleasant

Lothian, including Edinburgh 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant
Orkney 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant
Shetland 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant
Strathclyde, including Glasgow, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Argyll, Bute 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant
Tayside, including Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Angus 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant
Western Isles 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Least pleasant Most pleasant

Any comments?

_____

_____

Below is a list of areas in Scotland based on government regions. Please circle the number that you believe best indicates **how broad** the speech of each region is:

What you speak						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
The Borders						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Central, including Stirling, Falkirk, Clackmannanshire						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Dumfries and Galloway						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Fife						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Grampian, including Aberdeenshire, Moray						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Highland, including Inverness, Caithness						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad

Lothian, including Edinburgh						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Orkney						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Shetland						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Strathclyde, including Glasgow, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Argyll, Bute						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Tayside, including Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Angus						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad
Western Isles						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not broad at all						Extremely broad

Any comments?

_____

_____

Below is a list of areas in Scotland based on government regions. Please circle the number that you believe best indicates **how Scottish sounding** the speech of each region is:

What you speak

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

The Borders

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Central, including Stirling, Falkirk, Clackmannanshire

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Dumfries and Galloway

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Fife

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Grampian, including Aberdeenshire, Moray

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Highland, including Inverness, Caithness

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Lothian, including Edinburgh

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Orkney

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Shetland

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Strathclyde, including Glasgow, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Argyll, Bute

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Tayside, including Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Angus

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Western Isles

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Not Scottish sounding Very Scottish sounding

Any comments?

Thank you for completing the survey!
Please write any additional comments on the back of this page.

A2. QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

BACKGROUND DATA AGE GROUP1

RESPONDENT	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	DATA EDUCATION: DID NOT COMPLETE HS = 0, HS = 1, HIGHERS = 2, COLLEGE/VOCATIONAL TRAINING = 3, BA = 4, POSTGRAD = 5	WHERE FROM	WHERE FROM DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI OUTSIDE, 3=<15MI OUTSIDE	YEARS AWAY	DATA YEARS AWAY: NONE = 0, 1-3 = 1, 4-6 = 2	PARENTS	PARENTS DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI, 3=5MI+GRAMPIAN, 4=SCOTLAND OUTSIDE GRAMPIAN, 5=UK OUTSIDE SCOTLAND, 6=EUROPE OUTSIDE UK (IRELAND)	COMMUNITY	COMMUTE	DATA COMMUTE: LESS THAN 1MI = 0, 1-4MI = 1, 5-10MI = 2, 11-20MI = 3, 21-30MI = 4, OFFSHORE = 5	OUTSIDE	DATA OUTSIDE: ONCE EVERY FEW WEEKS OR LESS = 0, ONCE A WEEK = 1, TWO OR THREE TIMES A WEEK = 2, FOUR TO SIX TIMES A WEEK = 3, EVERYDAY = 4
1F4	19	LIFEGUARD / CLERICAL ASSISTANT	HIGHER SQAS	2	PORTKNOCKIE	2	0	0	BUCKIE / PORTKNOCKIE	1 / 3	VILLAGE	5 MILES	2	EVERYDAY	4
1F5	19	LIFEGUARD / SWIMMING INSTRUCTOR	HIGH SCHOOL	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE / BANFF	1 / 3	TOWN	18 MILES	3	MOSTLY EVERYDAY	3
1F6	21	SALES EXECUTIVE	BA COMMUNICATIONS WITH PUBLIC RELATIONS	4	BUCKIE	1	3 - ABERDEEN	1	BUCKIE	1	-	1 MILE	1	2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2
1F7	23	ADMINISTRATION AND EVENTS COORDINATOR	BA HONOURS UNIVERSITY	4	BUCKIE	1	4 - ABERDEEN / 1 - USA	2	PORTESSIE / PORTKNOCKIE	2 / 2	VILLAGE / TOWN	17 MILES	3	5-6 TIMES A WEEK	3
1F8	26	ICT OFFICER	BSC HONS DEGREE	4	BUCKPOOL	1	4 - ABERDEEN	2	BUCKIE / FINDOCHTY	1 / 2	VILLAGE	18 MILES	3	DAILY	4
1F9	31	REGEN ASSISTANT	STANDARD GRADES	1	RATHVEN	2	0	0	PORTKNOCKIE / RATHVEN	2 / 2	VILLAGE	2 MILES	1	TWICE WEEKLY	2
1F10	35	CLASSROOM ASSISTANT	HIGHERS - HIGH SCHOOL	2	PORTESSIE	2	0	0	BUCKIE / SANDEND	1 / 3	VILLAGE	1 MILE	1	2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2
1F11	36	NURSERY PRACTITIONER	COLLEGE SVQIII	3	BUCKIE	1	0	0	FINDOCHTY / GLENLIVET	2 / 3	VILLAGE	3 MILES	1	ONCE A WEEK	1
1F12	36	HOUSEWIFE / PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER	DEGREE	4	FINDOCHTY	2	4 - ABERDEEN	2	FINDOCHTY / ARBROATH	2 / 3	VILLAGE	1 MILE	1	WEEKLY	1
1F13	36	EDUCATION AUXILIARY	-	-	BUCKIE	1	3 - ABERDEEN	1	BUCKIE / FINDOCHTY	1 / 2	VILLAGE	2 MILES	1	EVERY WEEK	1
1F14	36	SUPPORT WORKER - MENTALLY HANDICAPPED ADULTS	GCSE	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE / TOWN	2 MILES	1	ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK	1
1F15	37	TEACHER	POSTGRADUATE DEGREE IN TEACHING	5	BUCKPOOL	1	4 - ABERDEEN	2	BUCKIE / TYNET	1 / 2	SUBURB / TOWN	1 MILE	1	EVERY WEEK	1
1F16	39	-	STANDARD GRADES	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE / ELGIN	1 / 3	TOWN	NONE	0	DAILY	4
1M1	19	STUDENT	ADVANCED HIGHERS	2	DRYBRIDGE	2	6.5 - HALTON	2	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE / COUNTRYSIDE	14 MILES	3	4 DAYS A WEEK	3
1M2	20	CHECKOUT ASSISTANT	SQA HIGHER	2	BUCKIE	1	0	0	GLASGOW-PORTKNOCKIE / BUCKIE-PORTESSIE	1 / 4	SUBURB	NONE	0	2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2
1M3	24	CIVIL SERVANT	HIGHER NATIONAL DIPLOMA	2	PORTESSIE	2	0	0	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	30 MILES	4	EVERY DAY	4
1M4	32	CHEF OFFSHORE	NVQ LEVEL 3 PRO COOKERY	3	FINDOCHTY	2	-	-	PORTKNOCKIE / BUCKIE	1 / 2	VILLAGE	COMMUTE BY AIR EVERY 5 WEEKS	5	SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK	2
1M6	36	SELF EMPLOYED BUSINESS MAN	B ED HONOURS	4	BUCKIE	1	4 - ABERDEEN	2	LOSSIEMOUTH / BUCKIE	1 / 3	TOWN	.5 MILE	0	EVERYDAY	4

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS AGE GROUP 2

RESPONDENT	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	DATA EDUCATION: DID NOT COMPLETE HS = 0, HS = 1, HIGHERS = 2, COLLEGE/VOCATIONAL TRAINING = 3, BA = 4, POSTGRAD = 5	WHERE FROM	WHERE FROM DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI OUTSIDE, 3=<15MI OUTSIDE	YEARS AWAY	DATA YEARS AWAY: NONE = 0, 1-3 = 1, 4-6 = 2	PARENTS	PARENTS DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI, 3=5MI+GRAMPIAN, 4=SCOTLAND OUTSIDE GRAMPIAN, 5=UK OUTSIDE SCOTLAND, 6=EUROPE OUTSIDE UK (IRELAND)	COMMUNITY	COMMUTE	DATA COMMUTE: LESS THAN 1MI = 0, 1-4MI = 1, 5-10MI = 2, 11-20MI = 3, 21-30MI = 4, OFFSHORE = 5	OUTSIDE	DATA OUTSIDE: ONCE EVERY FEW WEEKS OR LESS = 0, ONCE A WEEK = 1, TWO OR THREE TIMES A WEEK = 2, FOUR TO SIX TIMES A WEEK = 3, EVERYDAY = 4
2F1	40	SHOP KEEPER	HIGHERS	2	BUCKPOOL	1	1 - ZAMBIA	1	SCOTLAND	-	VILLAGE	3 MILES	1	2-3 TIMES A WEEK	2
2F2	41	SHOP WORKER / HOUSEWIFE	STANDARD GRADE	1	PORTESSIE	2	0	0	PORTESSIE / BUCKIE	1 / 2	SUBURB	1 MILE	1	ONCE, TWICE A WEEK	1
2F3	42	TEAM LEADER - ADULTS WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES	A1 ASSESSORS AWARD SVQ2 & SVQ3	3	BUCKIE	1	0	0	PORTGORDON / IRELAND	2 / 6	SUBURB	1 MILE	1	ALL THE TIME	4
2F4	45	WAITRESS	HIGHERS	2	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE / PORTSOY	1 / 3	VILLAGE	3 MILES	1	WEEKLY	1
2F5	46	ADMIN ASSISTANT	STANDARD GRADES	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	LOCAL	0	WEEKLY	1
2F6	51	HOUSEWIFE	O LEVEL / STANDARD	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	PORTESSIE	2	SUBURB	1 MILE	1	TWICE WEEKLY	2
2F7	53	HOUSEWIFE	HIGHERS	2	BUCKIE	1	1 - BLANTYRE / 3 - GLASGOW	2	BUCKIE / KEIG	1 / 3	TOWN	LOCAL	0	ONCE A MONTH	0
2F8	57	SALES ASSISTANT	HNC HAIRDRESSING	3	PORTESSIE	2	-	-	PORTGORDON / PORTESSIE	2 / 2	TOWN	.25 MILE	0	ONCE A WEEK	1
2F9	58	PRIMARY TEACHER (RETIRED)	B ED DIPLOMA IN CHILD EDUCATION	5	BUCKIE	1	3 - ABERDEEN / 1 FOCHARS	2	ABERDEEN / HOPEMAN	3 / 3	TOWN	0	0	ONCE A WEEK	1
2F10	58	PROPERTY MANAGER	HIGHER GRADE, NO DEGREE	2	BUCKIE	1	3 - LONDON	1	ABERDEEN / RAINHAM ESSEX ENGLAND	3 / 5	VILLAGE	20 MILES	3	5 DAYS	3
2M1	41	SENIOR FACILITIES ENGINEER	UNIVERSITY B.ENG HONOURS	4	PORTESSIE	2	6 - ABERDEEN	3	BUCKIE / SANDEND	1 / 2	VILLAGE	110 MILES - OFFSHORE	5	5 DAYS A WEEK	3
2M3	43	ROUSTABOUT	HIGHERS	2	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE	1	SUBURB	0	0	OCCASIONALLY	1
2M4	49	WORKER	MECHANICAL	3	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE / ALCUDIA	1 / 3	VILLAGE / TOWN	OFFSHORE	5	WEEKLY	1
2M5	51	PERFORMANCE ENGINEER	NVQ	3	BUCKIE	1	0	0	ELGIN	3	SUBURB	7000 MILES - OFFSHORE	5	EVERY MONTH	0
2M6	52	TEACHER	DEGREE	4	BUCKIE	1	4 - ABERDEEN	2	BUCKIE / SANDEND	1 / 3	VILLAGE	25 MILES	4	EVERY DAY	4
2M7	55	SUB SEA SUPERVISOR	O LEVEL	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE / GREENOCK	1 / 4	COUNTRYSIDE / TOWN	OFFSHORE	5	-	-
2M8	55	HOSPITAL PORTER	SECONDARY SCHOOL	1	BUCKIE	1	0	0	BUCKIE	1	TOWN	.25 MILE	0	FREQUENTLY	-
2M9	59	TRAINER	POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA	5	BUCKIE	1	5 - ABERDEEN	2	BUCKIE / ELGIN	1 / 3	VILLAGE	17 MILES	3	5 DAYS PER WEEK	3

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS AGE GROUP 3

RESPONDENT	AGE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	DATA EDUCATION: DID NOT COMPLETE HS = 0, HS = 1, HIGHERS = 2, COLLEGE/VOCATIONAL TRAINING = 3, BA = 4, POSTGRAD = 5	WHERE FROM	DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI OUTSIDE, 3=<15MI OUTSIDE	YEARS AWAY	DATA YEARS AWAY: NONE = 0, 1-3 = 1, 4-6 = 2	PARENTS	PARENTS DATA: 1=BUCKIE, 2=<5MI, 3=5MI+GRAMPIAN, 4=SCOTLAND OUTSIDE GRAMPIAN, 5=UK OUTSIDE SCOTLAND, 6=EUROPE OUTSIDE UK (IRELAND)	COMMUNITY	COMMUTE	DATA COMMUTE: LESS THAN 1MI = 0, 1-4MI = 1, 5-10MI = 2, 11-20MI = 3, 21-30MI = 4, OFFSHORE = 5	OUTSIDE	DATA OUTSIDE: ONCE EVERY FEW WEEKS OR LESS = 0, ONCE A WEEK = 1, TWO OR THREE TIMES A WEEK = 2, FOUR TO SIX TIMES A WEEK = 3, EVERYDAY = 4
3F2	63	PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER, RETIRED	DIP ED + NURSERY QUALIFICATION	5	BUCKIE	1	3 - ABERDEEN	1	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	N/A	0	REGULARLY	-
3F3	66	COMMUNITY NURSE, RETIRED	NURSE TRAINING	5	PORTESSIE	2	3 - ABERDEEN	1	FINDOCHTY / PORTESSIE	2 / 2	TOWN	WORKED IN TOWN	0	FREQUENTLY, 3X WEEK	2
3F4	66	HOUSEWIFE	HIGHER LEAVING CERTIFICATE	2	BUCKPOOL AND BUCKIE	1	0	0	LOSSIEMOUTH / JOHNSHAVEN	3 / 3	TOWN	NA	0	2-3 TIMES	2
3F6	68	MIDWIFE, RETIRED	1 HIGHER, 3 LOWERS	2	BUCKIE	1	6 YEARS	2	PORTSOY / WHITEHILLS	3 / 3	TOWN	NA	0	ONCE A WEEK	1
3F7	68	HOUSEWIFE	LEAVING CERTIFICATE	1	PORTESSIE	2	NONE	0	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	-	-	NOT A LOT	-
3F8	69	RETIRED	EDUCATION,	5	PORTESSIE AND	1	1 - SHETLAND	1	PORTGORDON	1 / 2	VILLAGE	-	-	2-3 TIMES WEEKLY	2
3F10	74	PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER, TAX OFFICER, RETIRED	DIPLOMA IN CHILD EDUCATION	5	BUCKPOOL	1	NONE	0	BUCKIE / FRASERBURGH	1 / 3	TOWN	NONE	0	RARELY	0
3M1	60	FISHERMAN	DIDN'T COMPLETE HS	0	BUCKIE	1	NONE	0	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	.5 MILE	0	LOTS	-
3M2	66	FABRICATION ENGINEER	CITY AND GUILDS IN ENGINEERING	5	BUCKIE	1	3 - LONDON	1	BUCKIE / LONDON	1 / 5	VILLAGE	1 MILE	1	ONCE A MONTH	0
3M3	66	SHIP BUILDER	JUNIOR SECONDARY	0	IANSTOWN	1	-	-	BUCKIE / PORTGORDON	1 / 2	VILLAGE	22 MILE	4	2 TIMES A WEEK	2
3M5	69	ENGINEER - RETIRED	O LEVELS	1	BUCKPOOL	1	NONE	0	BUCKIE / LOSSIEMOUTH	1 / 3	VILLAGE	-	-	REGULAR, WEEKLY	1
3M6	70	RETIRED	LEAVING CERTIFICATE	1	PORTESSIE	2	-	-	FINDOCHTY / PORTESSIE	1 / 2	VILLAGE	RETIRED	-	WEEKLY	1
3M7	71	RETIRED	-	-	BUCKIE	1	-	-	BUCKIE	1	VILLAGE	-	-	WEEKLY	1
3M10	74	MASTER MASON - RETIRED	JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATE	1	PORTESSIE	2	NONE	0	PORTESSIE / PORTGORDON	2 / 2	VILLAGE	NA	-	EVERYDAY	4
3M11	77	SOCIAL WORKER - RETIRED	MSW	5	IANSTOWN	1	1 - EDINBURGH	1	IANSTOWN / BUCKPOOL	1 / 1	TOWN	NA	-	-	-

QUALITATIVE SCOTS DATA: I

RESPONDENT	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) ARE SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND?	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK?	SPEAK DATA	ARE THERE PEOPLE THAT SPEAK OR SOUND DIFFERENTLY FROM YOU? IF SO, WHO? WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES?	DATA DIFFERENCES: N=NONE, 1=IMMIGRANTS, 2=ENGLAND/UK, 3=NE VARIATION, 4=REGIONAL VARIATION, 5=DIFFERENCES DESCRIPTIONS
1F4	SCOTTISH	SCOTTISH	MS	NO, ONLY SOME GLASWEGIAN BUT THAT'S SCOTTISH TOO	NO / 4
1F5	DORIC, GAELIC, GLASWEGIAN, ENGLISH, SCOTTISH	DORIC, SCOTTISH, ENGLISH	T	NONE	NO
1F6	GAELIC, ENGLISH, DORIC	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	-	B
1F7	DORIC, GAELIC, LOWLAND SCOTS, ENGLISH	DORIC, ENGLISH	BDE	YES, IMMIGRANTS - DIFFERENT LANGUAGES	1
1F8	ENGLISH, DORIC, SCOTS, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES, SOME PEOLE ARE 'BROADER' SPOKEN THAN OTHERS. VERY VARIED ALONG THE NORTH-EAST FROM TOWN TO TOWN	5 / 3
1F9	ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH, SCOTS	BES	YES, DIFFERENT REGIONAL ACCENTS (FOREIGNERS)	4 / 1
1F10	DORIC	DORIC	MD	ENGLISH	2
1F11	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES, POLISH - PRONUNCIATION	1 / 5
1F12	GAELIC, DORIC, SCOTS	DORIC	MD	EACH COASTAL VILLAGE SEEMS TO USE DIFFERENT WORDS AND PHRASES - WE GENERALLY SOUND THE SAME BUT AT TIMES OUR VOCABULARY DIFFERS	3 / 5
1F13	ENGLISH, GAELIC, DORIC, LALLANS, SCOTS	DORIC, SCOTS	BDS	YES, IT DEPENDS WHERE THEY COME FROM IN THE WORLD	1
1F14	GAELIC, DORIC	SCOTTISH	MS	ENGLISH, DUTCH, GLASWEGIAN	1 / 2 / 4
1F15	ENGLISH, SCOTS, SCOTS GAELIC	ENGLISH, SCOTS	BES	MAINLY SOUND DIFFERENT BECAUSE NOT BORN AND BROUGHT UP IN NORTH EAST	4
1F16	SCOTS, DORIC, GAELIC, ENGLISH	DORIC, SCOTS, ENGLISH	T	MY FRIENDS MRS REA WOOD SHE IS BUCKIE BORN BUT LIVED FOR HER SCHOOL YEARS IN MANCHESTER	2
1M1	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	-	B
1M2	GAELIC, SCOTTISH, ENGLISH	SCOTTISH, ENGLISH	BES	N/A	N
1M3	GAELIC, ENGLISH, SCOTS	SCOTS, ENGLISH	BES	YES, INCOMERS FROM OTHER AREAS	4
1M4	SCOTS, DORIC, GAELIC, ENGLISH	MAINLY ENGLISH	ME	YES PEOPLE ARE BROADER THAN OTHERS, VARIES	5
1M6	GAELIC, DORIC, ENGLISH, SCOTS	ENGLISH WITH SCOTTISH INTONATIONS	CES	YES INCOMERS TO THE AREA - ENGLISH	4 / 2

RESPONDENT	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) ARE SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND?	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK?	SPEAK DATA	ARE THERE PEOPLE THAT SPEAK OR SOUND DIFFERENTLY FROM YOU? IF SO, WHO? WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES?	DATA DIFFERENCES: N=NONE, 1=IMMIGRANTS, 2=ENGLAND/UK, 3=NE VARIATION, 4=REGIONAL VARIATION, 5=DIFFERENCES DESCRIPTIONS
2F1	ENGLISH, GAELIC, DORIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES, ANYONE NOT BROUGHT UP IN THE NORTHEAST WILL SPEAK DIFFERENTLY - THEY WON'T MAYBE UNDERSTAND REGIONAL WORDS AND PHRASES	4 / 5
2F2	GAELIC, ENGLISH, SCOTS	SCOTS	MS	YES. DIFFERENT VILLAGES HAVE DIFFICULT DIALECT	4
2F3	DORIC, GAELIC	DORIC, BROAD SCOTCH	BDS	YES BECAUSE THEY COME FROM DIFFERENT VILLAGES OR TOWNS	4
2F4	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES, LOTS OF VARYING ACCENTS, ENGLISH, DORIC	5 / 2
2F5	SCOTTISH, GAELIC	SCOTTISH, ENGLISH	BES	DIFFERENCES IN TONE, SPEED AND DIALECT	5
2F6	DORIC, GAELIC, ENGLISH	SCOTTISH, ENGLISH	BES	YES DIFFERENT WORD MEANINGS	5
2F7	ACCORDING TO 'SCOTTISH' CENSUS THERE ARE ABOUT 24 TRANSLATIONS AVAILABLE FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES LIVING IN SCOTLAND	DORIC THROUGH QUEENS ENGLISH	C	LOT OF WHITE SETTLERS (ENGLISH PEOPLE) ALSO NOW PORTUGUESE, POLISH	2 / 1
2F8	GAELIC, ENGLISH	-	-	FINDOCHTY - ALONG COAST FROM HERE, SPEAK SLOWER	3 / 5
2F9	ENGLISH AND EVERY AREA HAS A DIALECT OF THAT	DORIC	MD	EVEN FROM FINDOCHTY 1 MILE ALONG THE COAST THE ACCENT IS DIFFERENT TO MINE FROM IANSTOWN	3 / 5
2F10	DORIC	DORIC AND ENGLISH	BDE	YES - SOME MAY SPEAK SLIGHTLY POSHER AND TRIED TO HIDE THE FACT THAT THEY ARE SO SCOTTISH	5
2M1	SCOTS, ENGLISH, DORIC, GAELIC	SCOTS, DORIC, ENGLISH	T	PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF UK AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHO LIVE IN THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY	2 / 1
2M3	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES - COLLEAGUES - SPEED OF SPEECH	5
2M4	SCOTTISH WITH ALL DIFFERENT LOCAL TWANGS, SOME GAELIC	SCOTTISH WITH EAST COAST WORDS THROWN IN	CDS	LOT OF SOUTHERNERS IN AREA - ALSO EASTERN BLOCK PEOPLE	2 / 1
2M5	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES THEY HAVE DIFFERENT WORDS ON OCCASIONS	5
2M6	ENGLISH, SCOTS, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	YES (1) ENGLISH (MANY HAVE MOVED TO THE AREA), (2) POLISH MIGRANT WORKERS, (3) BROAD DORIC	2 / 1 / 3 / 5
2M7	GAELIC, DORIC, ENGLISH	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	YES LOCAL AREAS HAVE DIFFERNT LOCAL DIALCTS WITH ENGLISH AND OVERSEA RESIDENTS DIALECTS CAN BE DILUTED	4 / 2 / 1 / 5
2M8	GAELIC, ENGLISH	ENGLISH	ME	EUROPEAN	1
2M9	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH	ME	FINDOCHTY = BROADER	3 / 5

RESPONDENT	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) ARE SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND?	WHAT LANGUAGE(S) DO YOU SPEAK?	SPEAK DATA	ARE THERE PEOPLE THAT SPEAK OR SOUND DIFFERENTLY FROM YOU? IF SO, WHO? WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES?	DATA DIFFERENCES: N=NONE, 1=IMMIGRANTS, 2=ENGLAND/UK, 3=NE VARIATION, 4=REGIONAL VARIATION, 5=DIFFERENCES DESCRIPTIONS
3F2	GAELIC, DORIC, LOWLAND SCOTS, GLASWEGIAN, SHETLAND, ORCADIAN	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	YES PEOPLE FROM OTHER PARTS OF SCOTLAND, THE UK, ABROAD	4 / 2 / 1
3F3	LOWLAND SCOTS, DORIC, INVERNESIAN, GLASWEGIAN, PROPER ENGLISH	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	YES PEOPLE NOT FROM THE COMMUNITY	4
3F4	MOSTLY ENGLISH WITH LOCAL 'LILTS' AND GAELIC ON WEST COAST	ENGLISH AND LITTLE SCHOOL GIRL FRENCH	ME	ENGLISH (AS IN BORN IN ENGLAND) AND SOME FOREIGN WORKERS	2 / 1
3F6	GAELIC, DORIC	NONE	-	DUTCH, CANADIAN ENGLISH, STILTED ENGLISH DRAWL	1 / 2
3F7	SCOTCH, ENGLISH	SCOTCH	MS	YOU KNOW BY THE ACCENT WHERE THEY COME FROM	5
3F8	GAELIC, SCOTTISH, DORIC, ENGLAND	ENGLISH, SCOTTISH, DORIC, FRENCH, GERMAN	T	YES ENGLISH (WHITE SETTLERS)	2
3F10	DORIC, ENGLISH	SCOTTISH LOCAL DORIC, ENGLISH WHEN NECESSARY	BDE	NOT REALLY	N
3M1	SCOTTISH	DORIC	MD	ENGLISH & FOREIGNERS	2 / 1
3M2	SCOTS, DORIC, GAELIC	SCOTS, DORIC	BDS	YES. INCOMERS AND EUROPEAN. TOTALLY DIFFERENT FORM SCOTS OR DORIC - ENGLISH AND BROKEN ENGLISH	4 / 1 / 3
3M3	-	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	-	B
3M5	GAELIC, ORKADIAN, SCOTS	ENGLISH	ME	DIFFERENT AREAS HAVE DIFFERENT DIALECTS AND WORDS ALSO FOREIGN WORKERS	4 / 1 / 5
3M6	ENGLISH, DORIC, GAELIC	ENGLISH, DORIC	BDE	PEOPLE FROM ENGLAND, POLAND, LATVIA, PAKISTAN	2 / 1
3M7	-	DORIC	MD	ENGLISH, PAKISTANI, CHINESE	2 / 1
3M10	SCOTS, ENGLISH, GAELIC	SCOTS	MS	YES ENGLISH, ENGLISH IS A MORE PROPER WAY OF SPEAKING	2 / 5
3M11	ENGLISH, GAELIC	ENGLISH, GERMAN	MS	MAINLY ENGLISH. CANNOT PRONOUNCE 'LOCH' CORRECTLY	2 / 5

QUALITATIVE SCOTS DATA: II

RESPONDENT	WHAT IS SCOTS? PLEASE DESCRIBE IT TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY AND PROVIDE EXAMPLES OF IT IF POSSIBLE.	DATA SCOTS: P=PEOPLE, B=NA, E=EXAMPLES, L=LANGUAGE, D=DIALECT, DE=DIALECT OF ENGLISH	DO PEOPLE IN SCOTLAND CURRENTLY SPEAK SCOTS? IF SO, WHO SPEAKS IT?	SPEAK SCOTS DATA E=EVERYONE, M=MOST, A=ACCOMMODATION, S=SOCIAL CLASS, NO=NONE, Y=YES, O=OLDER GENERATION, R=REGIONALLY	DO YOU SPEAK SCOTS? IF SO, WHEN WOULD YOU SPEAK IT? WHERE WOULD YOU SPEAK IT? WHO WOULD YOU SPEAK IT WITH?	YOU SCOTS DATA: E=EVERYONE/ALL THE TIME, H=AT HOME/WITH FAMILY, F=WITH FRIENDS, N=WITH NEIGHBOURS, C=IN THE COMMUNITY/WITH LOCALS/IN SHOPS, W=AT WORK/WITH WORKMATES/COLLEAGUES, S=WITH SCOTS SPEAKERS
1F4	PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN SCOTLAND AND NOT ENGLAND	P	YES, EVERYONE	E	YES, EVERYWHERE AND TO EVERYONE WHO SPEAK SCOTS TO	E S
1F5	MY HOME LANGUAGE, WHERE I HAVE BEEN RAISED TO SPEAK THIS LANGUAGE, EG - DOOKERS, SWIMMING COSTUME	L E	MOSTLY EVERYONE	M	YES, WHEN AROUND FAMILY AND FRIENDS	H F
1F6	A LANGUAGE SPOKEN THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND BUT IN DIFFERENT VARIATIONS AND DIALECTS IN DIFFERENT AREAS AND COMMUNITIES	L D	YES, MOST SCOTS	M	YES, MOST OF THE TIME. AT HOME, IN THE COMMUNITY, WITH FRIENDS, FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURS	H C F N
1F7	SCOTS IS PART OF A VARIETY OF SCOTTISH DIALECTS / LANGUAGES	D L	YES, DIFFERENT AREAS SPEAK SCOTS WITH DIFFERENT DIALECTS, EG - DORIC, GLASWEGIAN. PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT AREAS DO NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTAND OTHER SCOTS DIALECTS	R	YES. WITH FRIENDS / FAMILY. IT IS AN INFORMAL LANGUAGE - YOU WOULD NOT SPEAK SCOTS AT WORK OR WHEN MEETING PEOPLE YOU DON'T KNOW	F H S

1F8	DIALECT	D	YES, COMMON DAY-TO-DAY IN SMALL TOWNS	R	YES, WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, AT WORK	H F W
1F9	I DINNA KEN' = I DON'T KNOW	E	ALL LOCALS	R	WITH LOCALS	C
1F10	PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN BORN IN SCOTLAND	P	YES THEY DO, HOWEVER THERE ARE MANY NATIONALITIES WHO NOW LIVE IN SCOTLAND	A	YES - MOST OF THE TIME	
1F11	I THINK SCOTS CAN BE BROKEN INTO DIFFERENT AREAS AND COVER BOTH ACCENTS AND DIFFERENT WORDS	L/D	YES, HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS, GLASWEGIANS, GRAMPIAN - DORIC	R	YES - TALKING TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS, SOCIALISING AND AT WORK (ALTHOUGH INSTRUCTIONS TO CHILDREN AND PROPER ENGLISH)	H F W
1F12	SCOTS WOULD PROBABLY BE A COMMON LANGUAGE TO US AL ORALLY AND I WOULD EXPECT MOST TO BE ABLE TO READ IT	L/D	PERHAPS THE OLDER GENERATION SPOKE A MORE GENERAL SCOTS LANGUAGE WITH LITTLE NEED TO SPEAK 'PROPER' BUT POSSIBLY LOCAL DIALECTS HAVE ALTERED WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN TRADITIONAL SCOTS IN MANY AREAS	O A	YES I PRIDE MYSELF THAT I CAN SPEAK AND READ SCOTS AMONGST FAMILY AND FRIENDS. I ENJOY SCOTS POETRY	H F
1F13	/	B	YES. PROBABLY MOST OF THEM	M	YES I SPEAK SCOTS ALL OF THE TIME	E
1F14	SCOTS IS THE WAY IN WHICH WE TALK	L/D	YES SCOTS IS SPOKEN EVERYDAY BY EVERYONE	E	YES - EVERYDAY IN THE HOME OR AT WORK. I WOULD SPEAK SCOTS IWHT ANYONE FRIEND, NEIGHBOURS, ETC	H W F N

1F15	A DIALECT - A VARIATION OF ENGLISH. SOME WORDS HAVE A SCOTS ACCENT, OTHERS HAVE DIFFERENT PRONUNCIATIONS, DIFFERENT VOCABULARY AND WORD/VERB ENDINGS	DE	YES. ALL THOSE NATIVE TO SCOTLAND BUT DON'T SPEAK IT AT ALL TIMES AND USE SCOTS IN VARYING DEGREES DEPENDING ON WHEREABOUTS	N A R	YES - DORIC. AT HOME, IN SHOPES, COMMUNITY OR AT WORK WITH NATIVE SCOTS SPEAKERS	H C W S
1F16	NEEPS = TURNIP, TATTIES = POTATOS, AYE = YES	E	MOST PEOPLE BUT HAVE SLIGHT DIFFERENT WAY OF ACCENT, DEPENDING AREAS	R	YES I SPEAK SCOTS WITH PEOPLE OF SAME AREAS MAINLY ALWAYS	S C
1M1	A VERSION OF ENGLISH WITH A CERTAIN DIALECT/ACCENT DEPENDING ON WHERE YOU ARE IN THE COUNTRY	DE	YES, I THINK JUST ABOUT EVERYBODY IN SOME FASHION	M	YES ALMOST ALL THE TIME	E
1M2	SCOTS ARE WHAT FOUGHT OF THE ROMANS. SCOTS ARE LIKE MOST COUNTRIES DIVIDED BY REGIONS BUT ARE ALL RELATIVELY CLOSE IN THOSE REGIONS	P	YES EACH AREA HAVE THEIR OWN SCOTS DIALECT	R	YES TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS	H F
1M3	-	B	YES - PEOPLE FROM MORE HIGHLAND AREAS AND WESTERN ISLES	R	YES WHEN SPEAKING TO LOCAL PEOPLE	C
1M4	DIALECT	D	YES COMMON - MOSTLY IN OLDER GENERATION	O	YES WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS	H F

1M6	SCOTS IS A FORM OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE - COLLOQUIALISM "AY AY FIT LIKE?" = HELLO HOW ARE YOU?	DE E	YES MOST PEOPLE RESIDING IN THIS AREA	R	YES DAY TO DAY LIFE. MOST PEOPLE I ENCOUNTER	C E
2F1	SCOTTISH DIALECTS: AYE = YES, KEN = KNOW, FIT = WHAT, LANG = LONG, ABOOT = ABOUT, A WEE THOCH = A WEE BIT	D E	YES - ALL SCOTTISH REGIONS HAVE THEIR OWN PHRASES ETC	R	YES TO FRIENDS, FAMILY	H F
2F2	SCOTS IS SCOTLANDS NATIVE TONGUE. IT CHANGES FROM TOWN TO TOWN, VILLAGE TO VILLAGE = FIT LIKE?	L/D E	YES,OUTSIDE SCHOOLS IN THE HOME, MOST SCOTTISH PEOPLE	A M	YES EVERYWHERE, ANYWHERE, ANYONE. BUT CAN BE LESS BROAD WHEN NEEDED	E
2F3	IT IS A LANGUAGE USED BY THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND	L	YES PEOPLE THAT HAVE BEEN BORN AND BRED IN SCOTLAND AND IT GOES FAR BACK TO OUR ANCESTORS	N	I SPEAK SCOTS EVERY DAY TO FAMILY,F RIENDS AND WORK COLLEAGUES	H F W
2F4	SCOTS CAN BE VERY DIFFERENT WITH MANY COMMUNITIES USING DIFFERENT WORDS	L/D	YES LOCALS TO AREAS	R	YES I SPEAK IT TAILY BUT MOSTLY WITH FRIENDS AND FAMILY WHO ALSO SPEAK IT	H F
2F5	DIALECT WHICH DIFFERS FROM AREA TO AREA	D	EVERYONE	E	FAMILY, FRIENDS, WORKMATES	H F W
2F6	DIALECT OF ENGLISH	DE	YES	Y	YES AT HOME, WITH FAMILY MEMBERS	H

2F7	VERY 'DESCRIPTIVE' WORDS IN SCOTS LANGUAGE, RICH SOUNDING EACH AREA HAS ITS OWN WORDS, EVEN ALONE THE COAST HERE VAST DIFFERENCES, BETWEEN SMALL VILLAGES. DIFFERENT AREAS DIFFERENT 'LILTS' TO WAY THEY TALK, TEHREFORE ABLE TO DISTINGUISH WHICH PART/REGION OF SCOTLAND SOMEONE BELONGS TO	L	YES BUT HAVE TO ADAPT TO 'INCOMERS' AS SO TO BE UNDERSTOOD AND NOT APPEAR TO BE RUDE BUT IN DOING SO YOUNGER GENERATION LOSING OUT ON HEARING 'OLDER' WORDS. AND LOT OF INCLUENCE ON THE 'AMERICAN' LINGO = HAVE A NICE DAY	A O	I PERSONALLY SPEAK IN MA ANE 'MITHER TONGUE' AA; THE TIME, DISNA USUALLY MAITTER FAR ABOOT I AM UNLESS AS I SAID AFORE, YE WIDNA PURPOSEFULLY SPEAK BROAD BUCKIE IN FRONT O FOWK THAT WIDNA HAE A CLUE FIT YE WERE SAYING! IF YE KEN FIT A MEAN!?	E
2F8	DORIC	D	NO	NO	NO	
2F9	THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND	L	EVERYONE	E	YES THE DORIC VERSION	E
2F10	IS A COMMUNITY OF HTE BRITISH ISLES WHERE PROUD SCOTTISH PEOPLE CARRY ON THE TRADITION OF SPEAKING SCOTS = "ITS A BIT DREICH THE DAY AN I'M AWA TAE MUCK OOT MY HOOSE INSTEAD OF GAN O'ER THE TOON!"	P E	YES I WOULD SAY THE MAJORITY OF RESIDENCE SPEAK SCOTTISH BUT WOULD SPEAK ENGLISH TO HOLIDAY MAKERS AND TOURISTS	M A	YES TO FAMILY, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS AT HOME AT MEETINGS FAMILY AND FRIENDS	H F N W
2M1	NATIVE LANGUAGE (A MIXTURE OF DORIC AND ENGLISH)	L DE D	A LARGE PERCENTAGE	M	YES, WITH FRIENDS AND FAMILY	H F

2M3	DIALECT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE	DE	EVERYONE WHO IS LOCAL TO THE AREA	R	WORK COLLEAGUES - SHOP ASSISTANTS, FAMILY, FRIENDS	W H F C
2M4	SCOTS FOR ME IS LIKE A COMMON DENOMINATOR WITH LOTS OF LOCAL WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS THROWN IN	L/D	PASS	-	NOT SURE IF ITS CORRECT SCOTS I SPEAK BUT I DO NOT KNOW WHAT CORRECT SCOTS IS	E
2M5	SCOTS IS THE DIALECT OF ENGLISH - WITH A FEW DIFFERENT MEANINGS TO SOME WORDS	DE	I FEEL SCOTS IS MORE OF A DIALECT	-	SCOTS TO ME WOULD BE GAELIC, I DON'T SPEAK GAELIC	
2M6	STRONG GUTTURAL PRONUNCIATION	L/D	YES NATIVE	N	YES BUT NOT DORIC. ALL THE TIME, FAMILY, FRIENDS, SOCIALLY	E H F C
2M7	PURE SCOTS LANGUAGE IN MY OPINION IS GAELIC, DORIC IS A CORRUPT FORM OF ENGLISH/GAELIC	LG	DORIC MOSTLY SPOKEN BY NE BORN PERSONS, LOT OF IMMIGRANTS TRY TO SPEAK IT WITH VARIED SUCCESS	R A	SPEAK DORIC AT HOME AND WORK WITH NORTH EAST RESIDENTS. USE PROPER WORDS (ENGLISH) TO AID UNDERSTANDING	W H
2M8	DIFFERENT DIALECT	D	EVERYBODY	E	YES ALL THE TIME	E
2M9	SLANG ENGLISH, EG DORIC	DE	NO	NO	NOT SURE IF ITS CORRECT SCOTS I SPEAK BUT I DO NOT KNOW WHAT CORRECT SCOTS IS	E
3F2	LANGAUGE WITH SPECIFIC WORDS/PHRASES. DIALECT. ACCENT. A WEE QUINE BIDES NEESHT DOOR = A LITTLE GIRL LIVES NEXT DOOR	L/D E	YES - VARIETY OF PEOPLE	M	YES. DAILY. AT HOME, WITHIN THE COMMUNITY FAMILY AND FRIENDS AND ANYONE WHO UNDERTSANDS IT	H C F S

3F3	SOME WORDS CANNOT BE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH EG DREICH, SOME WORDS CAN	L/D E	YES, NATIVE SCOTS	N	YES EVERYDAY WITH MY FRIENDS SPEAK WITH IT	E S F
3F4	ENGLISH LANGUAGE BUT WITH SEVERAL VARIATIONS AND WORDS SUCH HOOSE (HOUSE) AND BUNNET (BONNET)	DE	MOSTLY OLDER PEOPLE ALTHOUGH SOME SCHOOLS ENCOURAGE IT TOO	O	WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS, IN LOCAL SHOPS, ETC	H F C
3F6	DIALECT DIFFERENT AREAS HAVE DIFFERENT ACCENTS AND PRONUNCIATION	D	YES ORDINARY PEOPLE	S	YES MOST OF THE TIME PEOPLE	E
3F7	I DINNA KEN EXACTLY WHAT YOU WANT ME TE SAY	E	YES	Y	-	
3F8	A LANGUAGE OF ITS OWN - BREEKS=TROUSERS, SAIR HEED=SORE HEAD	L E	YES, LOCAL DIALECTS ARE USED. ENGLISH SPOKEN IN SCHOOLS, GAELIC/WEST COAST	R S	YES WITH FRIENDS - IT IS MY NATURAL LANGUAGE	F
3F10	COUTHY NATIONAL SPEECH USING 'ENGLISH WORDS' ON OCCASIONS IF COMMUNICATION REGUIRED OUTWITH AREA	L/D	'BROKEN' SCOTS/ENGLISH AS A WHOLE	A	USE SCOTS LOCALLY - ABROAD=ENGLISH, LOCALLY=ENGLISH AT WORK, SCHOOLS, OFFICE	C
3M1	I DINA KEN	E	SCOTTISH PEOPLE SPEAK SCOTTISH	R	ALL THE TIME	E
3M2	OUR OWN NATIVE TONGUE ITS A BRAW BRIGHT MOONLIGHT NICHT THE NICHT	L/D E	YES. NATIVES OF SCOTLAND AND SOME INCOMMERS WHO HAVE COTTONED ON	N A	YES EVERY DAY. AT WORK AND HOME, FAMILY FRIENDS WORK COLLEAGUES	E H W F C

3M3	POEMS AND SONGS OF RABBIE BURNS	P	PEOPLE OF THE NORTH EAST	R	FELLOW SCOTS	S
3M5	A DIALECT BELONGING TO THEM - FIT LIK THE DAY - HOW ARE YOU TODAY	D E	IF GAELIC IS CLASSED AS SCOTS - MOST OF THE OUTER ISLANDS, OTHERWISE A VARIATION OF ENGLISH	R	I SPEAK A VARIATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE WITH ALL PEOPLE	E
3M6	IT IS NATURAL TO ME BEING BROUGHT UP WIHT ELDERLY GRANNIES AND GRANDAS AND ELDERLY AUNTS	L/D	YES OLDER PEOPLE	O	YES AT HOME, WHEN IN THE COMPANY OF LOCALS	H C
3M7	MIX OF ENGLISH, NORSE, GERMAN	DE L/D	YES LOCALS	R	YES ALL THE TIME EVERYBODY	E
3M10	-	B	YES PREDOMINANTLY WORKING CLASS	S	YES DAILY, HOME AND SOCIALISING, NORMAL FRIENDS, FAMILY, ACQUAINTANCES	H F C
3M11	I AM NOT FAMILIAR WITH SCOTS	B	NOT TO MY KNOWLEDGE. THERE MAY BE AN ANTRIM ONE BUT I HAVE YET TO MEET HIM/HER	NO	NO	

QUALITATIVE SCOTS DATA: III

RESPONDENT	DO PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF SCOTLAND SPEAK SCOTS? IF SO, WHERE?	OUTSIDE DATA E=EXPATS, N=NO, I=IRELAND, Y=YES, D=DESCENDANTS	WAS THERE EVER A TIME WHEN SCOTS WAS SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND? IF SO, WHEN?	EVER A TIME DATA: 1=HAS ALWAYS BEEN SPOKEN, 2=USED TO BE SPOKEN A LONG TIME AGO BUT IS NO LONGER SPOKEN, 3=WAS NEVER SPOKEN	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS?
1F4	IF THEY WANT TO OR IF THEY ARE FORMERLY FROM SCOTLAND	E	NO	3	-
1F5	NO	N	YES, FOR YEARS	1	-
1F6	POSSIBLY	M	-	-	-
1F7	NO. PEOPLE WHO MOVE OUT OF SCOTLAND MAY SPEAK IT	N E	YES - I THINK BEFORE THE JACOBITES ETC THE ONLY LANGUAGE WOULD HAVE BEEN SCOTS IN THE DIFFERENT DIALECT AREAS	2	-
1F8	-	-	-	-	-
1F9	PEOPLE ORIGINALLY FROM SCOTLAND / FRIENDS AND FAMILY	E	YES THROUGHOUT HISTORY	1	-
1F10	YES - PEOPLE WHO HAVE MOVED AWAY TO OTHER PLACES / COUNTRIES	E	-	-	-
1F11	I THINK THERE MUST BE BUT ONLY WHEN IN OTHERS SCOTS COMPANY	E	YES I BELIEVE THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN SCOTS SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND, BUT MAYBE DIFFERENT 'CLASSES' HAD DIFFERENT ELEMENTS	1	EXAMPLES: 'THE STREEN' = YESTERDAY / 'FIT LIKE' = HOW ARE YOU / DOOKING = SWIMMING / DOOKERS = SWIMMING COSTUMES
1F12	HUMAN DISPERSAL DUE TO WORK ETC WILL UNDOUTEDLY MEAN THAT SCOTS WILL BE SPOKEN AROUND THE WORLD	E	YES, DATING BACK CENTURIES (PICTS)	1	-
1F13	YES ALL OVER THE WORLD WHEN SPEAKING WITH OTHER SCOTS	E	YES ALL THE TIME	1	-

1F14	-	-	-	-	-
1F15	YES - ANYWHERE WHEN MIXING WITH OTHER SCOTS SPEAKERS	E	IT IS STILL VERY MUCH SPOKEN	1	-
1F16	YES BUT MAINLY WITH OTHER SCOTS PEOPLE	E	I BELIEVE SCOTS IS THE MAIN LANGUAGE AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN	1	-
1M1	I SUPPOSE ONLY REALLY SCOTTISH DESCENDANTS	D	YES ALL OVER AT POINTS VERY BROAD	1	-
1M2	-	-	-	-	-
1M3	YES VARIOUS COUNTRIES	E	YES	1	-
1M4	IRELAND/ULSTER INDIVIDUALS NOT IN AREAS	I	-	-	-
1M6	PEOPLE WHO HAVE EMIGRATED FROM SCOTLAND	E	I BELIEVE IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE MAIN LANGUAGE OF SCOTLAND	1	-
2F1	YES	Y	I BELIEVE SCOTS IS SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND	1	-
2F2	YES I THINK IF YOU ARE SCOTTISH YOU NEVER LOSE YOUR TONGUE	E	YES. ALWAYS	1	-
2F3	YES BUT ONLY IF THEY ARE BORNA ND BRED IN SCOTLAND	E	SCOTTISH LANGUAGE HAS ALWAYS BEEN SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND	1	-
2F4	YES WORLDWIDE	E	YES HAS PROBABLY ALWAYS BEEN SPOKEN	1	-
2F5	EXPATRIATES	E	EARLY SETTLEMENT TIMES	2	-
2F6	YES PEOPLE WHO EMIGRATED, ABROAD	E	NO	3	-

2F7	EX PATS ALL OVER THE WORLD AND HTEY TEND TO BE MORE SCOTTISH WHEN AWAY FROM HOME	E	YES ALL THE WAY DOWN THROUGH HISTORY INFLUENCED BY VIKINGS AND ROMANS	1	ANY LANGUAGE DEVELOPS THROUGH TIME SO THERE IS CONSTANTLY A SHIFT IN WORDS, THEREFORE VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE RECORD OF LANGUAGE AT ANY ONE GIVEN TIME. OUR IDENTITY HERE SEEMS TO BE UNDER THREAT BY HAVING TO TALK PROPERLY FOR OTHERS TO UNDERSTAND. LOTS OF OLD FISHING WORDS DISAPPEARING AS A RESULT
2F8	NO	N	A LONG TIME AGO?	2	-
2F9	ALL OVER THE WORLD, EG CANADA/AUSTRALIA OR WHEREVER THEY HAVE EMIGRATED	D E	ALWAYS SPOKEN BUT IN DIFFERENT DIALECTS	1	-
2F10	YES SCOTTISH PEOPLE WHO LIVE ALL OVER THE WORLD	E	ALL THE TIME, SCOTTISH LANGUAGE HAS NEVER STOPPED BEING SPOKEN IN SCOTLAND	1	-
2M1	YES - SCOTS WHO ARE BASED OR WORK ABROAD AND WHO SPEAK TO OTHER SCOTS	E	YES	1	-
2M3	YES - EXPATRIATES WHO HAVE RELOCATED	E	-	-	-
2M4	SOME PEOPLE WHO HAVE EMIGRATED WOULD LIKE TO THINK THEY DO	E	AS ABOVE I THINK THERE WAS MANY LOCAL FORMS OF SCOTS	1	-

2M5	YES I HAVE MET SCOTS PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD	E	DON'T KNOW	-	-
2M6	NOT SURE. PROBABLY THOSE WHO WERE RAISED HERE	E	ALL THE TIME	1	-
2M7	HEBRIDES, ORKNEY, SHETLAND	H,O,S	YES LONG TIME AGO	2	-
2M8	-	-	-	-	-
2M9	NOT SURE. PROBABLY THOSE WHO WERE RAISED HERE	E	13TH - 17TH CENTURY	2	-
3F2	YES WHERE THERE ARE GROUPS OF SCOTS - OTHER PARTS OF UK, POSSIBLY CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NZ	D	YES. ALWAYS	1	-
3F3	-	-	-	-	-
3F4	PEOPLE FROM SCOTLAND WHO HAVE MOVED TO LIVE OR WORK ABROAD	E	MANY YEARS AGO	2	DIFFERENT AREAS OF SCOTLAND HAVE DIFFERENT WAYS OF SPEAKING SCOTS SOME JUST HAVE A TWANG OTHERS HAVE DIFFERENT WORDS FOR THINGS
3F6	YES TO CONTEMPORARIES	E	-	-	-
3F7	NO	N	WE SPEAK SCOTS ALL THE TIME	1	-
3F8	YES IF THEY MEET UPW TIH LOCAL SCOTTISH PEOPLE	E	SCOTS WAS USED TO BEGIN WITH AND HTEN ENGLISH IN SCOOLS - SCOTS/DORIC NOT USED IN SCHOOLS AT ALL. WE ARE NOW PROMOTING LOCLA DIALECTS/DORIC AND KEEPING RECORDS	1	-
3F10	CANADIAN EXILES,E VEN USA?	D	I EXPECT PRIOR TOT HE ENGLISH INVASION, MIDDLE AGES	2	-
3M1	YEA	Y	NO	3	-

3M2	YES. SCOTTISH PEOPLE WHO LIVE AWAY FROM HOME	E	THE MITHER TONGUE WILL BE HERE FOREVER!	1	-
3M3	WORLD WIDE	E	-	-	-
3M5	YES IN POCKETS OF SCOTTISH DESCENDANTS	D	-	-	-
3M6	YES LOCALS WHO LIVE ABROAD	E	-	-	-
3M7	-	-	-	-	-
3M10	YES - CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND MAINLY	D	YES HUNDREDS OF YEARS AGO	2	-
3M11	NOT THAT I AM AWARE	N	YES 16TH CENTURY	2	-

A3. ANOVA

Statistical significance: $p < 0.05$

DIFFERENCE

AGE GROUP

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	3.55253889	2	1.77626944	2.61272952	0.08844236	3.28491765
Within Groups	22.4351167	33	0.67985202			
Total	25.9876556	35				

GENDER

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.22041667	1	0.22041667	0.33070843	0.57107738	4.30094946
Within Groups	14.6629667	22	0.66649848			
Total	14.8833833	23				

ACROSS REGIONS

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	366.042724	11	33.2766112	26.1800126	**1.574E-44**	1.80462969
Within Groups	761.370533	599	1.27106934			
Total	1127.41326	610				

CORRECTNESS

AGE GROUP

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	1.84508889	2	0.92254444	2.3331675	0.11278452	3.28491765
Within Groups	13.0483417	33	0.39540429			
Total	14.8934306	35				

GENDER

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.01760417	1	0.01760417	0.04873683	0.82731202	4.30094946
Within Groups	7.94659167	22	0.36120871			
Total	7.96419583	23				

ACROSS REGIONS

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	112.407014	11	10.2188195	7.29940527	**2.625E-11**	1.81470497
Within Groups	515.18246	368	1.39995234			
Total	627.589474	379				

PLEASANTNESS

AGE GROUP

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.66550556	2	0.33275278	0.88024072	0.42419407	3.28491765
Within Groups	12.4748167	33	0.37802475			
Total	13.1403222	35				

GENDER

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.06406667	1	0.06406667	0.15432905	0.69821289	4.30094946
Within Groups	9.13286667	22	0.4151303			
Total	9.19693333	23				

ACROSS REGIONS

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	193.146998	11	17.558818	13.2573592	**1.133E-22**	1.80535685
Within Groups	758.914541	573	1.32445819			
Total	952.061538	584				

BROADNESS

AGE GROUP

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	2.04853889	2	1.02426944	1.77243164	0.18571431	3.28491765
Within Groups	19.07035	33	0.57788939			
Total	21.1188889	35				

GENDER

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.19801667	1	0.19801667	0.41403376	0.52658033	4.30094946
Within Groups	10.5217667	22	0.47826212			
Total	10.7197833	23				

ACROSS REGIONS

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	243.375558	11	22.1250507	12.5627606	**1.963E-21**	1.80529858
Within Groups	1012.66788	575	1.76116154			
Total	1256.04344	586				

SCOTTISHNESS

AGE GROUP

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	1.66977222	2	0.83488611	2.49049646	0.09831863	3.28491765
Within Groups	11.06255	33	0.33522879			
Total	12.7323222	35				

GENDER

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	0.0570375	1	0.0570375	0.20614976	0.65424965	4.30094946
Within Groups	6.08695833	22	0.27667992			
Total	6.14399583	23				

ACROSS REGIONS

ANOVA

Source of Variation	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between Groups	146.99969	11	13.3636081	7.66659225	**1.849E-12**	1.80460298
Within Groups	1045.85775	600	1.74309624			
Total	1192.85743	611				

A4. K-means cluster analysis

DIFFERENCE	MEAN	K-MEANS CLUSTER = 5
GRAMPIAN	6.64	1
HIGHLAND	5.49	2
LOTHIAN	4.84	3
FIFE	4.54	5
TAYSIDE	4.51	5
DUMFRIES	4.49	5
BORDERS	4.46	5
CENTRAL	4.39	5
STRATHCLYDE	4.2	5
WESTERN ISLES	3.82	4
SHETLAND	3.78	4
ORKNEY	3.77	4

CORRECTNESS	MEAN	K-MEANS CLUSTER = 5
HIGHLAND	5.63	1
LOTHIAN	5.52	1
BORDERS	4.94	3
GRAMPIAN	4.84	3
DUMFRIES	4.71	5
CENTRAL	4.65	5
TAYSIDE	4.62	5
FIFE	4.29	4
ORKNEY	4.1	4
STRATHCLYDE	4.07	2
WESTERN ISLES	4.03	2
SHETLAND	3.87	2

PLEASANTNESS	MEAN	K-MEANS CLUSTER = 5
HIGHLAND	6	1
LOTHIAN	5.36	2
ORKNEY	5.17	2
WESTERN ISLES	5.17	2
GRAMPIAN	5	4
BORDERS	4.98	4
SHETLAND	4.94	4
CENTRAL	4.81	4
DUMFRIES	4.73	4
FIFE	4.31	5
TAYSIDE	4.21	5
STRATHCLYDE	3.75	3

BROADNESS	MEAN	K-MEANS CLUSTER = 5
GRAMPIAN	6.15	1
SHETLAND	5.35	2
ORKNEY	5.32	2
STRATHCLYDE	5.32	2
WESTERN ISLES	5.1	2
FIFE	4.92	3
TAYSIDE	4.73	3
HIGHLAND	4.5	4
CENTRAL	4.46	4
DUMFRIES	4.39	4
BORDERS	4.23	4
LOTHIAN	3.54	5

SCOTTISHNESS	MEAN	K-MEANS CLUSTER = 5
GRAMPIAN	6.06	1
STRATHCLYDE	5.74	2
HIGHLAND	5.46	2
WESTERN ISLES	5.37	5
ORKNEY	5.33	5
SHETLAND	5.29	5
TAYSIDE	5.18	5
FIFE	5.16	5
CENTRAL	4.88	4
LOTHIAN	4.54	3
DUMFRIES	4.5	3
BORDERS	4.46	3

DIFFERENCE

Initial Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.64	5.49	4.84	3.77	4.20
Iteration History[a]					
Iteration	Change in Cluster Centers				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	.000	.000	.150	.020	.210
2	.000	.000	.150	.000	.022
3	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
a. Convergence achieved due to no or small change in cluster centers. The maximum absolute coordinate change for any center is .000. The current iteration is 3. The minimum distance between initial centers is .430.					
Final Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.64	5.49	4.84	3.79	4.43
Number of Cases in each Cluster					
Cluster	1	1.000			
	2	1.000			
	3	1.000			
	4	3.000			
	5	6.000			
Valid		12.000			
Missing		.000			

CORRECTNESS

Initial Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	5.63	3.87	4.94	4.29	4.62
Iteration History[a]					
Iteration	Change in Cluster Centers				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	.055	.120	.050	.095	.040
2	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
a. Convergence achieved due to no or small change in cluster centers. The maximum absolute coordinate change for any center is .000. The current iteration is 2. The minimum distance between initial centers is .320.					
Final Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	5.58	3.99	4.89	4.20	4.66
Number of Cases in each Cluster					
Cluster	1	2.000			
	2	3.000			
	3	2.000			
	4	2.000			
	5	3.000			
Valid		12.000			
Missing		.000			

PLEASANTNESS

Initial Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.00	5.36	3.75	4.73	4.21
Iteration History[a]					
Iteration	Change in Cluster Centers				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	.000	.127	.000	.162	.050
2	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
a. Convergence achieved due to no or small change in cluster centers. The maximum absolute coordinate change for any center is .000. The current iteration is 2. The minimum distance between initial centers is .460.					
Final Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.00	5.23	3.75	4.89	4.26
Number of Cases in each Cluster					
Cluster	1	1.000			
	2	3.000			
	3	1.000			
	4	5.000			
	5	2.000			
Valid		12.000			
Missing		.000			

BROADNESS

Initial Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.15	5.35	4.73	4.23	3.54
Iteration History[a]					
Iteration	Change in Cluster Centers				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	.000	.077	.013	.130	.000
2	.000	.000	.108	.035	.000
3	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
a. Convergence achieved due to no or small change in cluster centers. The maximum absolute coordinate change for any center is .000. The current iteration is 3. The minimum distance between initial centers is .500.					
Final Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.15	5.27	4.83	4.40	3.54
Number of Cases in each Cluster					
Cluster	1	1.000			
	2	4.000			
	3	2.000			
	4	4.000			
	5	1.000			
Valid		12.000			
Missing		.000			

SCOTTISHNESS

Initial Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.06	5.74	4.46	4.88	5.16
Iteration History[a]					
Iteration	Change in Cluster Centers				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	.000	.140	.040	.000	.106
2	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
a. Convergence achieved due to no or small change in cluster centers. The maximum absolute coordinate change for any center is .000. The current iteration is 2. The minimum distance between initial centers is .280.					
Final Cluster Centers					
	Cluster				
	1	2	3	4	5
MEAN	6.06	5.60	4.50	4.88	5.27
Number of Cases in each Cluster					
Cluster	1	1.000			
	2	2.000			
	3	3.000			
	4	1.000			
	5	5.000			
Valid		12.000			
Missing		.000			